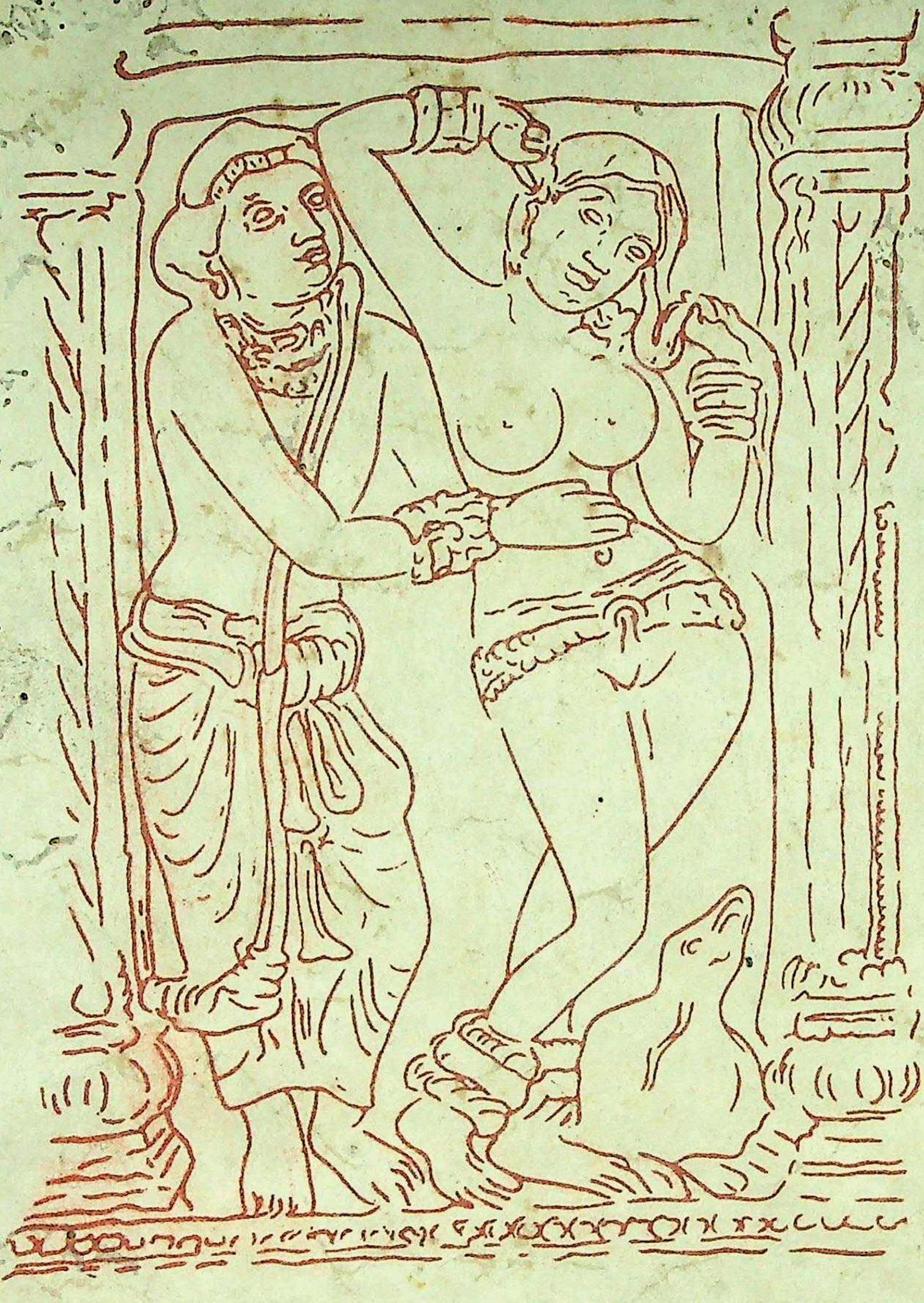

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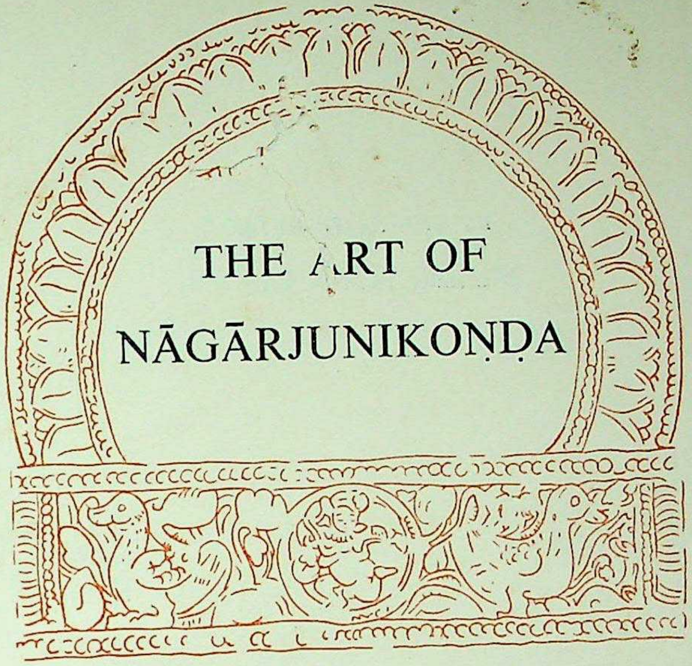
THE ART OF

NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA

P. R. RĀMACHANDRA RAO

RACHANA

THE ART OF NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Panel from Palace Pillar

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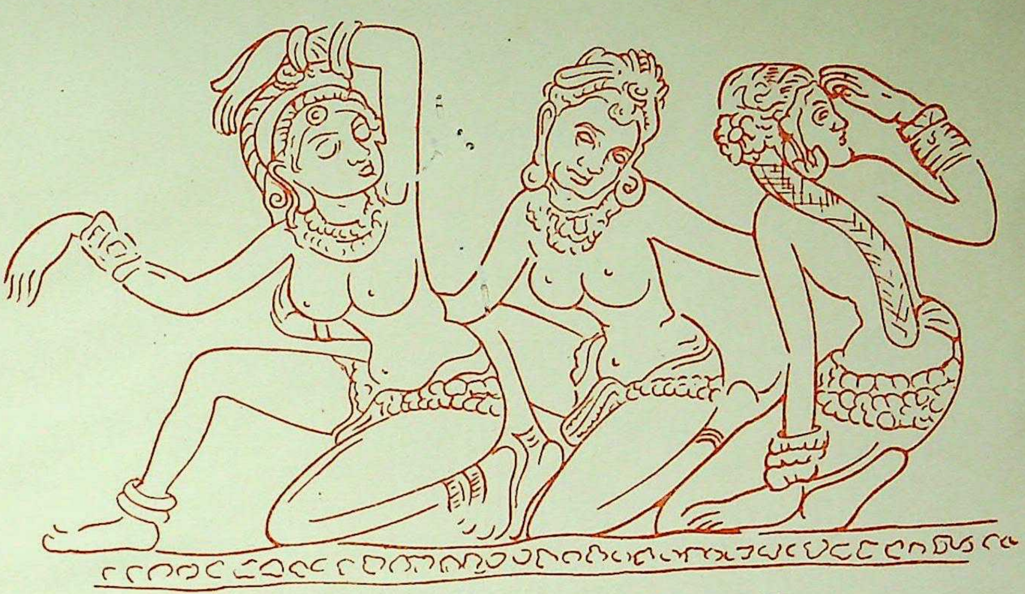

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: Detail from *Conversion of the Nāga, Apalāla.*

THE ART OF
NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA

By

P. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

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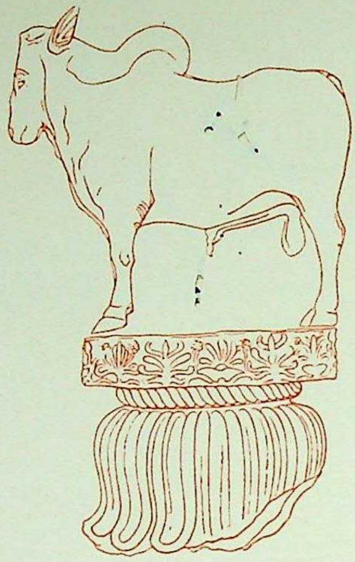

Rāmpurvā : Bull Capital.

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DEDICATED TO

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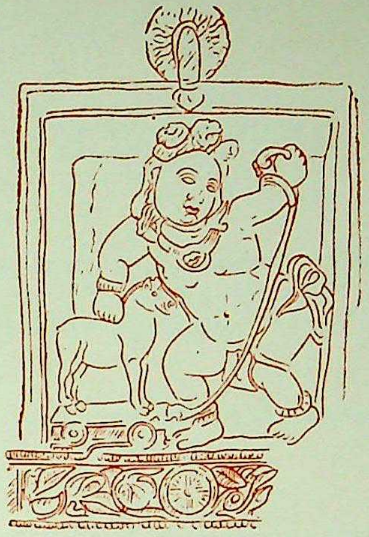

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: Dwarf with Toy Cart (Palace Pillar)

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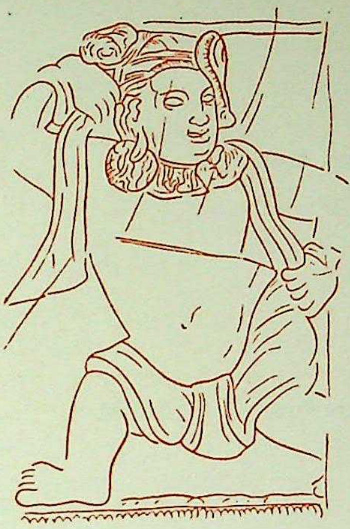
PRONUNCIATION

In the spelling of Saṁskṛt words, the international system of transliteration has been adopted. The vowels are pronounced as in Italian, phonetically ; *e* and *o* are always long and the rest, where long, are marked diacritically. *C* is pronounced like *ch* in ' church ' and *ṣ* like *sh* ; *ś* is sibilant. A dot (.) under a consonant indicates a palatal ; r is rolled ; *ṁ* and *ṅ* have half their values, and consonants with *h* are aspirated.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: Dwarf from Palace Pillar

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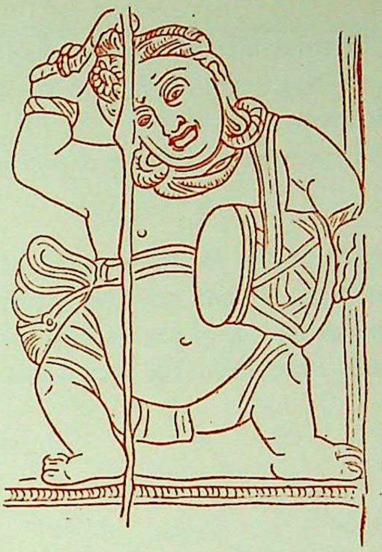

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Dwarf from Palace Pillar

PREFACE

When the Kṛṣṇa river valley project at Nandikoṇḍa in Āndhra State of India goes through, in less than five years, the most extensive remains, anywhere, of the international heritage of Buddhism at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa will have been irretrievably lost to the world. Because, the project, in its fulfilment, will completely inundate the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, transforming it into one hopeless reservoir of water, a three-mile stretch from hill to hill.

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was the focus, at its height some seventeen hundred years ago, of the votaries of Buddhism from the entire arc of countries from Ceylon, through Burma, the Indonesian archipelago, Thailand and Indo-China to China. The art of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was the farthest amplitude in India of the classical Āndhra art of Amarāvati, and it was from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in the main, that this gloriously indigenous art sailed forth to inspire the national arts of East Asia.

I have striven in this undertaking to present some measure of this inestimable heritage, its perspective and import. In the process, I have essayed a re-valuation of the facts of history, because, as regards Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, they are largely unsettled ; for this excursion, not strictly germane to the business of the student of art, I must apologise. But I conceive the notes to be integral to my text, making for a full understanding of the subject ; I request that they may be studied accordingly.

I am grateful to the Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to study the excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and photograph its sculptures ; the plates and plans are published by his courtesy. To Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Superintendent, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Excavation Project, I am especially obliged for advice and assistance.

I must accept full responsibility for the making of this book, inclusive of the photographs and the drawings. I shall have been amply rewarded if this modest effort promotes a wide appreciation of the international consequence of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which it should have been the sacred duty of India to preserve for posterity.

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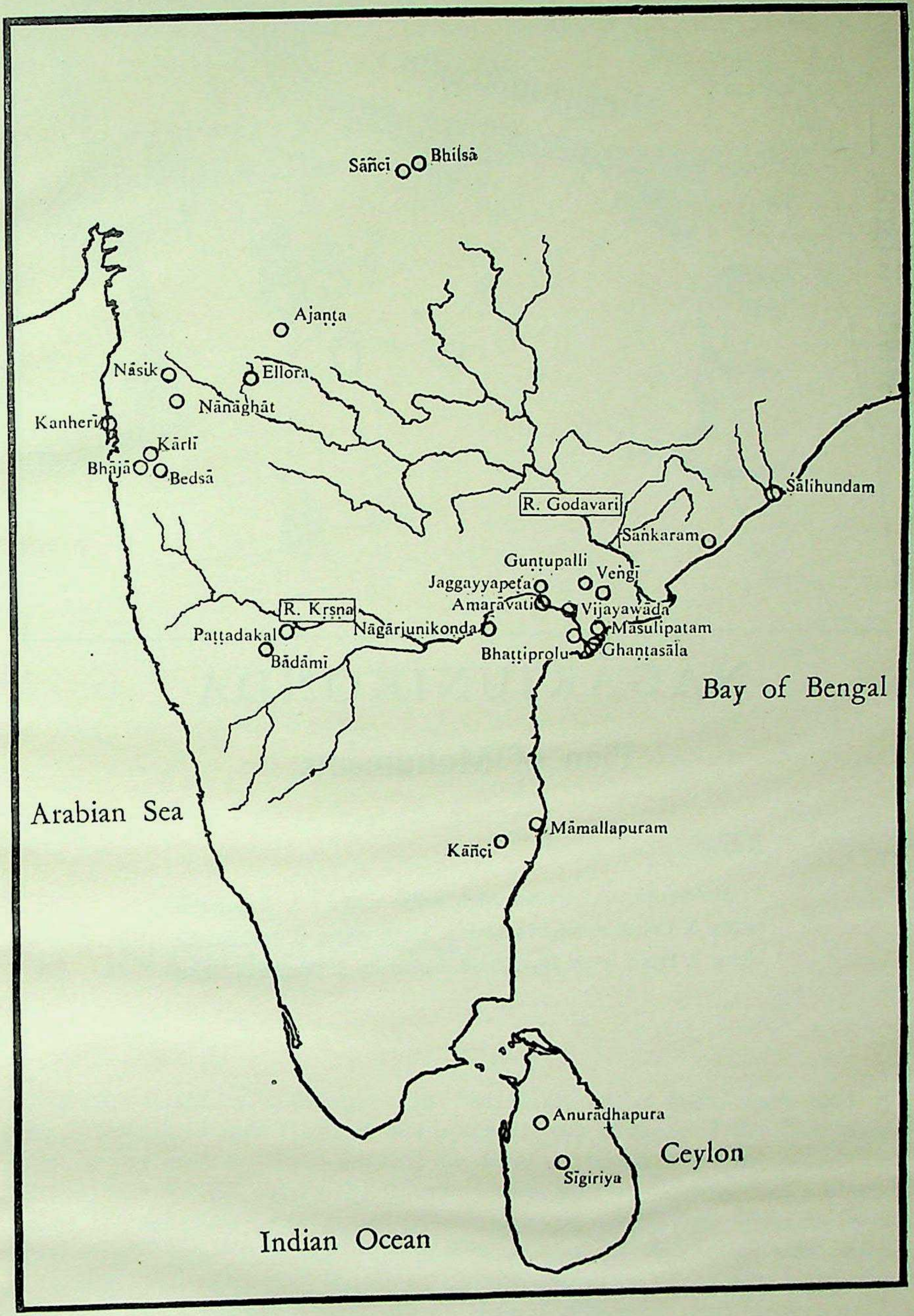
April, 1956.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Bhīlsā
Ajaṇṭa
Nāsik
Ellora
Nānāghāt
Kanheri
Kārlī
Bhājā
Bedsā
R. Godavari
Sālihundam
Sankaram
Guṇṭupalli
Jaggayyapeṭa
Vengī
Amarāvatī
Vijayawāda
R. Kṛṣṇa
Paṭṭadakal
Nāgārjunikonda
Masulipatam
Bhaṭṭiprolu
Ghaṇṭasāla
Bādāmī
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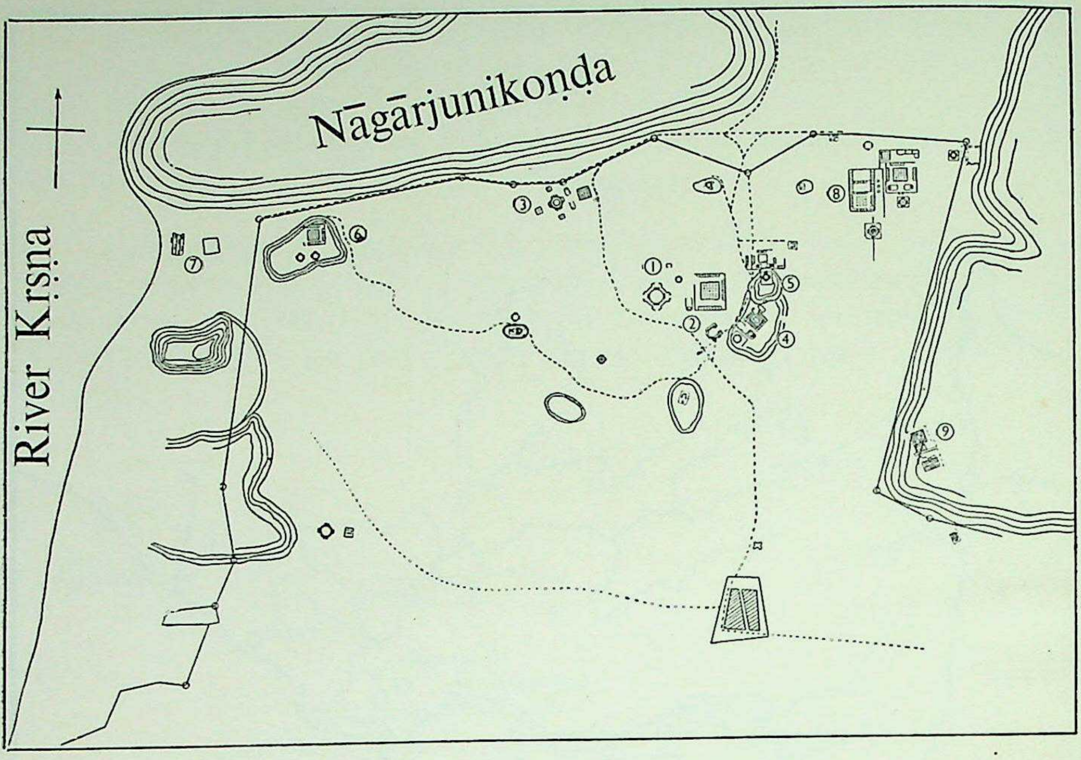
Māmallapuram
Kāñci
Anurādhapura
Ceylon
Sīgiriya
Indian Ocean

CENTRES OF ĀNDHRA ART


Nāgārjunikoṇḍa
River Kṛṣṇa
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③
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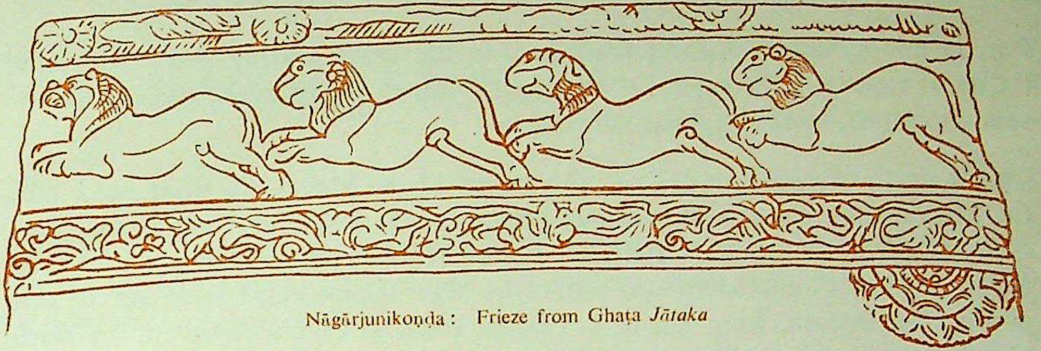
NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA

Plan of Monuments

KEY

1. *Mahācetiya* 2. Aparamahāvinaseliya *vihāra* 3. Bahusutīya *vihāra* 4. Culadhaṁmagiri *vihāra* 5. Sīhaḷa *vihāra* 6. Mahisāsaka *vihāra* 7. Palace of the Ikṣvākus 8. University 9. Temple of Hārītī



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Frieze from Ghaṭa *Jātaka*

INTRODUCTION

THE river Kṛṣṇa, in its passage to the sea, drops into a magnificent bowl of hills at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa ('Hill of Nāgārjuna');[1] an offshoot of the Nallamala range of the Eastern Ghats, flanking the Deccan plateau, the hills enclose the valley in a formidable natural fortification. Here the river, issuing from a gorge, hurtles through rocks and shoals, a bare half-mile wide; but when the rains come it swells from hill to hill, a mighty flow, navigable by lesser craft right down to the sea. Two bastions of massive rock, jutting from the ring of hills, guard the river front and command its approaches; the hills themselves were fortified in an earlier age by ramparts of brick and stone. The mountains slope to-day into an arid wilderness of pathless jungle, very sparsely settled for cultivation; but the still uncharted valley is dotted everywhere with countless mounds which entomb the glorious Buddhist monuments of some 1,700 years ago—*stūpas* (tumuli), *caityas* (temples) and *vihāras* (monasteries).

For, in this mountain-fastness flourished, in the third century A.D., Vijayapuri (' City of victory '), the capital of the Ikṣvāku kings, feudatories first, and successors afterwards, to the imperial Sātavāhanas.

On the death of Aśoka in 232 B.C. the empire of the Mauryas tottered to a fall ; the Sātavāhanas, a semi-autonomous dynasty of the powerful Āndhra race,[2] were quick to seize the south-western territories of the collapsing empire. At the height of their dominion of 440 years, the Sātavāhanas ruled from sea to sea, girdling the Deccan, from Ujjain in Central India to Cuddalore in the far south and Mysore in the south-west. It was under this dynasty that the classical art of India became a truly national expression, rooted in the faiths of the people, and reached its summit. On the perimeter of their extensive domains the Sātavāhanas raised a monumental progression of brilliant sculptures, all the way from Sāñcī, in Bhopal State, to their capital of Dhānyakaṭaka (Amarāvati[3] to-day) on the Kṛṣṇa by the eastern coast. The Ikṣvākus were *Mahātalavaras*, a feudatory nobility, under the Sātavāhanas and were certainly affiliated to them by ties of marriage ; when the Sātavāhanas faded out of history, crippled by the rising Scythian power of western India, the Ikṣvākus succeeded to the eastern dominions of the dismembered Sātavāhana empire.

The ancient city of Vijayapuri, contemporaneous with Dhānyakaṭaka by its inscription,[4] lay to the west of the hill Siripavata[5] (*Skrt.* Śrīparvata), and it is from this hill that the Purāṇic synonym 'Śrīparvatīyas' for the Ikṣvākus is derived.

NOTES

1. In Guntur district of Āndhra State, sixteen miles west of Macherla railway station.

2. Mentioned first in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18), a commentary on the *Ṛgveda* of about 500 B.C., as an outcast (non-Āryan) tribe. By the time of Megasthenes (300 B.C.), the Greek ambassador at the Mauryan Court, (quoted by Pliny, the Roman encyclopaedist, A.D. 77), the Āndhras had become a powerful race, with a great many villages and thirty fortified towns, and the command of " 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants ". But, by 256 B.C., the date of Aśoka's thirteenth Rock Edict, the Āndhras were rendering homage to the imperial Mauryan power, having been presumably subjugated by one of Aśoka's predecessors, either Bindusāra or his father, Candragupta.

3. Eighteen miles off Guntur.

4. Which records the erection of a coping-stone (*unisa*) by the merchant's wife (*vaṇiyinī*) Sidhi (*Skrt.* Siddhi), daughter of Cada (*Skrt.* Candra) who lived at Vijayapura : H. Lüders : 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,' No. 1285, *Epigraphia Indica*, X, Appendix ; *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 85.

5. *Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge* (at Śrīparvata on the east side of Vijayapuri) : *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription F, pp. 22-23. There is no warrant for identifying Siripavata with the Nallamala range in its entirety, as K. Gopalachari (*Early History of the Āndhra Country*, p. 125) and B. V. Krishna Rao (*Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa*, pp. 85, 87) would.

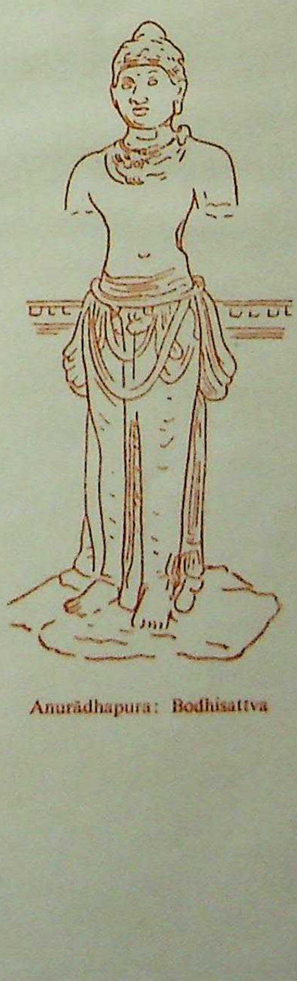
NĀGĀRJUNA

IT was on Siripavata in a monastery, by an ancient Tibetan tradition,[1] that Nāgārjuna, the greatest of Buddhist philosophers, lived toward the evening of his life and was interred.[2]

A prodigious figure of encyclopaedic scholarship, he was the celebrated founder of the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy and the greatest apostle of the Mahāyāna ('Great Vehicle'). This schismatic doctrine of devotional pantheism and sophistic nihilism, imbued with the dialectic of returning Brāhmanism, broke away, in the time of Aśoka, from the agnostic idealism and negative morality of the earlier Hīnayāna[3] ('Small Vehicle') school of Buddhism. The Mahāyāna admitted into its theistic pantheon a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas and archangels, the popular divinities of ancient India masquerading under new names and invested with the symbolism of the nascent doctrine. The Mahāyāna ritual, in an unfettered veneration of anthropomorphic deities, harnessed the painter and sculptor to the expansive cult of image worship, and thereafter Buddhist art, become the handmaid of the new canon, voyaged forth in sheer fulfilment. For the Mahāyāna was soon to become a world religion and the greatest single factor which profoundly influenced the history of mankind ; the ideal of the Bodhisattva, projected as the Saviour of humanity, postulated his active compassion (*karuṇa*) for everyone and generated, as its counterpart, the fervent devotion (*bhakti*) of all to the personified ideal. Thus the austere Hīnayāna philosophy of the enlightenment of the *Arhat*[4] by strenuous effort, open only to the few, became in the Mahāyāna the exciting religion of millions of people everywhere, by a formula of salvation by simple faith.

Nāgārjuna formulated[5] the Mādhyamika, as the middle path of reconciliation between the tenets of realism and nihilism ; in a reversion to the scholastic Vedānta, he taught that the phenomenal world (which he defined as an aggregate of the illusive conceptions of origination and cessation) had merely a conditional existence, neither absolutely real nor unreal. This idea of illusion, carrying it to its logical conclusion, he developed into the doctrine of *Śūnyatā* ('Void'), the absolute state where no conditions exist and all contradictions are reconciled, in a precocious anticipation of the great Hindu philosopher Śaṅkara. This interfusion of Brāhmanical metaphysics and Buddhist thought led, in the main, to a harmonised philosophy and a broadly accepted culture and evoked that tolerant understanding of Buddhism, so nobly exemplified by the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku emperors, very fervent adherents of the Brāhmanical faith themselves.

By the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang,[6] the Chinese Master of the Law, who visited Dhānyakaṭaka (*circa* A.D. 639), Nāgārjuna, a Brahmin youth from South India, rose to become "one of the four suns which light the world" along with Āryadeva,[7] Kumāralabdha[8] and Aśvaghoṣa,[9] three famed philosophers of the time.



Anurādhapura: Bodhisattva

By the Tibetan tradition,[10] *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna ruled the Buddhist Church for some fifty-seven years after A.D. 137[11] and may, therefore, have been contemporaneous with five successive Sātavāhanas, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulōmāvi II (A.D. 123), Śivaśrī Pulōmāvi III (A.D. 156), Śivaskaṅda Sātakarṇi (A.D. 163), Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (A.D. 166) and Vijaya (A.D. 195). Nāgārjuna is credited by Tārānātha,[12] the Tibetan historian, with procuring the erection,[13] by the Sātavāhana (who might have been Pulōmāvi III[14] rather than Yajñaśrī), of the sculptured railing of the great Amarāvati *stūpa* ;[15] and his royal benefactor is very likely, by Hiuen-Tsang's account,[16] to have built a *saṅghārāma* (monastery) for Nāgārjuna, tunnelling Śrīparvata,[17] although the Chinese pilgrim, by the direction of his itinerary, makes the Sātavāhana the king (which also undoubtedly he was) of Dakṣiṇa Kośala,[18] Chattisgarh today.

Hiuen-Tsang's description of the monastery, confirming Fa-hien's (*circa* A.D. 401) earlier report[19] of it, is memorable.

> To the south-west of this country (Dakṣiṇa Kośala) above 300 *li*[20] from the capital was a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li[21] (*Skrt.* Bhramaragiri), which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here king Sadvaha (Sātavāhana) had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path, communicating with the monastery, for above ten *li*. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls ; these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life-size images of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of this establishment the king's treasury soon became exhausted, and Nāgārjuna then provided an abundant supply by transmuting the rocks into gold. In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha, and the writings of the *P'usas*. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores, and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the Brethren. The pilgrim learned that when the king had finished the construction of this monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine *kōti* (crores) of gold coins.[22]

Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika, is not to be confounded[23] with his namesake of some three centuries later, the Tāntric *Siddha*[24] and master of *Mayūri-vidya* (alchemy) ; this Nāgārjuna was born at Kahora, a part of the city of Kāñcī in the south, and educated at the renowned university of Nālandā where he stayed to practise the *siddhis* (occult powers) ; eventually he also gravitated—and hence the confusion—to Śrīparvata from Jaggayyapeṭa,[25] another Buddhist settlement by the Kṛṣṇa.

NOTES

1. Tārānātha : *History of Buddhism*, pp. 85, 301 and 303. The Tibetan tradition was obviously based on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (edited by Bunyiu Nanjio, p. 286) : *Dakṣināpatha Vedalyām bhikṣuḥ Srīmān mahāyasaḥ Nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sadasat-pakṣa-dārakaḥ* (at Vedali in Dakṣiṇāpatha there will be a renowned monk known by the name of Nāgāhvaya—synonymous with Nāgārjuna—the supporter of the doctrine of both existence and non-existence, i.e., the Mādhyamika or Middle Path).

2. W. Wassilief : *Der Buddhismus*, I, pp. 220 f ; *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 7. However, inscriptional testimony of Nāgārjuna's residence at Śrīparvata is still to come.

3. Or Theravāda (*Skrt.* Sthaviravāda), the Doctrine of the ' Elders ' of the Buddhist monastic order.

4. One who has attained *Nirvāṇa*, " the going out " of the three fires of lust, ill-will and dullness, the state of supreme Enlightenment.

5. In a veritable encyclopaedia of writings known as the *Prajñā-pāramitā*.

6. S. Beal : *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 97.

7. Originally from Ceylon and the most eminent of Nāgārjuna's disciples, Āryadeva was a renowned scholar and a dialectician of devastating ability. His relics have been discovered at Buddhāni, eighteen miles from Repalle in Guntur district (*Journal of Oriental Research*, IX, pp. 13, 96 f.).

8. The founder of the Sautrāntika system, a philosophical school of the Hīnayāna, which affirmed the real existence of the phenomenal world.

9. One of the greatest poets of India and an ornament of the Court of the emperor Kaniṣka, Aśvaghoṣa was the " Father of Mahāyāna Buddhism ". He was the author of the sublime epic, *Buddha-carita* (' Life of the Buddha ') and its companion piece, the exquisite *Saundarananda-kāvya*, which, in their very extensive vogue from Amarāvati to Borobudur in Java, inspired some of the finest Buddhist art.

10. However, the indigenous *Līlāvati*, a Prākṛt poem of the romance of a Ceylonese princess and Hāla Sātakarṇi (A.D. 19-24), would make Nāgārjuna, ante-dating him, minister to the king. But the tradition, chronicled by the poet Kalhaṇa, by which Nāgārjuna was " the sole lord " of Kashmir at the time of the fourth General Council of Buddhists (A.D. 78), convened by Kaniṣka (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated by Sir M. A. Stein, I, p. 173) is doubtless apocryphal.

11. *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 9 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, p. 261.

12. Following the *Mañjuśrī Mūla Tantra*, I, p. 88.

13. See *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, pp. 5, 11 ; *Indian Antiquary*, XII, p. 88, and *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, p. 261.

14. *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 9.

15. The Sātavāhanas repaired and added to this under the influence of Nāgārjuna (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, pp. 100, 112).

16. T. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 201.

17. Called by Hieun-Tsang *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, the ' hill of the black bee ' or ' black hill ' simply, of which the name Nallamala, applied to the entire range, is a literal translation.

18. The pilgrim obviously heard of the famed monastery while he was still in Dakṣiṇa Kośala, itself a domain of the Sātavāhana empire, even before he proceeded to visit Śrīparvata in the contiguous Āndhra territory to the south. (It is worthy of note that no remains of any monastery, at Bhandak in the Chanda district or anywhere else about Chattisgarh, answer to the description by Hiuen-Tsang).

19. J. Legge : *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 96-97 ; H. A. Giles : *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, pp. 62-63 : " . . . there is a country named Dakṣiṇa (Deccan) where there is a monastery (dedicated to) the bygone Kaśyapa Buddha, and which has been hewn out from a large hill of rock. It consists in all of five storeys ; — the lowest, having the form of an elephant, with 500 apartments in the rock ; the second, having the form of a lion, with 400 apartments ; the third, having the form of a horse, with 300 apartments ; the fourth, having the form of an ox, with 200 apartments, and the fifth, having the form of a pigeon, with 100 apartments. At the very top there is a spring, the water of which, always in front of the apartments in the rock, goes round among the rooms, now circling, now curving, till in this way it arrives at the lowest storey, having followed the shape of the structure, and flows out there at the door. Everywhere in the apartments of the monks, the rock has been pierced so as to form windows for the admission of light, so that they are all bright, without any being left in darkness. At the four corners of the (tiers of) apartments, the rock has been hewn so as to form steps

for ascending to the top (of each). The men of the present day, being of small size, and going up step by step, manage to get to the top, but in a former age they did so at one step. Because of this, the monastery is called *Pārāvata*, that being the Indian name for a pigeon. There are always *Arhats* residing in it". However, Fa-hien merely stated what he had heard from the natives, being unable to go to the Deccan which he found difficult of access. It is, therefore, more than likely that he quaintly rendered Śri-parvata into a pigeon, by a mishearing of its component as *pār*[*ā*]*vata* (T. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, p. 208).

20. Roughly five *li* make a mile.

21. J. Burgess (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 7) erroneously identifies Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li with the Hindu shrine of Śrīśailam, which is also known in Saṁskṛt literature as Śrīparvata and by a further coincidence, is situate by the Kṛṣṇa in the Nallamala range in Kurnool district of Āndhra State, some fifty miles from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. But, there is no evidence of Śrīśailam having ever been a Buddhist establishment (T. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 208).

22. *Ibid.*, II, p. 201.

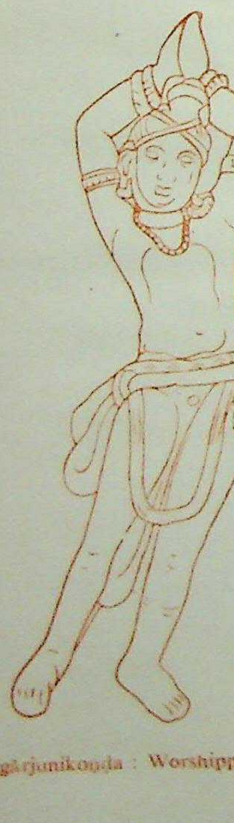
23. As Tārānātha did (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, p. 638, n.i.), basing his account on the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (edited by Rāhula Saṁkṛtyāyana), section 9, verses 490-493.

24. The disciple of Saraha and one of the eighty-four *Mahāsiddhas*, seers with occult powers (B. Bhattacharya : *Sādhanamāla*, II, Introduction, p. xli f.).

25. A fifth century Saṁskṛt inscription from Jaggayyapeṭa (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 112) mentions a Candraprabha, pupil of Jayaprabhācārya, pupil in turn of *Siddha* Nāgārjuna (Skrt. *Svasti bhadanta Nāgārjunācārya śiṣyaḥ Jayaprabhācāryaḥ tachchiṣyeṇa Candraprabheṇa*).

THE IKṢVĀKUS

THE Ikṣvākus claimed descent from the traditional progenitor of the famous Solar dynasty of Kośala (Ayodhya)—Ikṣvāku,[1] the eldest among the nine sons of Vaivasvata Manu,[2] the primeval king of India. The most celebrated king of the historic house of Kośala was, of course, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but even the Buddha, by a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription,[3] is made to spring from the lineage of Ikṣvāku. The Ikṣvākus probably originated from the valley of the upper Indus[4] if not further eastwards ;[5] the Purāṇic accounts[6] make forty-eight out of the 100 apocryphal sons of Ikṣvāku rulers of Dakṣiṇa (Deccan) ; and the southerly progress of the dynasty, about the sixth century B.C., was doubtless influenced by the rising pre-Mauryan empire of Magadha, under Bimbisāra, overshadowing Kośala. Although Lava, of the two sons of the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma, remained to rule Uttara (North) Kośala from Śrāvastī, the other, Kuśa, moved southwards to establish his capital of Kuśasthalipura (named after him), at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, and reigned over Dakṣiṇa Kośala.[7] And, in a migration further south, it was two Ikṣvāku princes, Asmaka and Mūlaka,[8] who established the two contiguous kingdoms, bearing their names on the river Gōdāvari, corresponding to the Aurangabad and Nizamabad districts of Hyderabad State



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Worshipper at *caitya*

today. By the *Dharmāmṛta*,[9] the Kannaḍa poetical work, Yaśodhara, the Ikṣvāku king of Aṅga, had settled himself, before the third century B.C., in Veṅgideśa (synonymous at the time with the Āndhra country), founding the town of Pratipālapura by the Kṛṣṇa, and the Ikṣvākus rapidly became, by domicile and merger, very much a part of Āndhra history. Precisely when they were overcome[10] in the Āndhra country by the succeeding Sātavāhana power is still to be established, but the Ikṣvāku king had surely been reduced, at least by the second century A.D., to the position of a viceroy, *Mahātalavara*,[11] in the eastern dominion of the Sātavāhana empire. On its dismemberment, with the passing about A.D. 218 of Pulōmāvi IV, the last of the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus eventually became their natural successors in the viceregal territory, heirs to the political and religious traditions of the imperial power.

The Brāhmī[12] inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus, in a language[13] described archaically as "a normalised semi-literary Prākṛt, used by a people whose home-tongue was Dravidian",[14] are limited as yet to Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,[15] Jaggayyapeṭa,[16] Rāmireddipalli,[17] Gōli[18] and Gurazāla ;[19] the inscriptions spell out a very tentative table of the Ikṣvāku dynasty at Vijayapuri, liable to be upset by any chance epigraphic discovery yielding still another king. The established kings are, in the line of succession, Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Cāṁtamūla (*Skrt.* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Kṣāntimūla),[20] Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata (*Skrt.* Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta), Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Bahuvaḷa[21] Cāṁtamūla (*Skrt.* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Kṣāntimūla) and Siri-Ruthrapurisadata[22] (*Skrt.* Rudrapuruṣadatta).

Of these, the first, *Ikhākusa sāmi*[23] *Mahārāja* Vāsiṭhīputa[24] Siri-Cāṁtamūla[25] would seem to have risen to sovereign power, overthrowing the effete Sātavāhana, Pulōmāvi IV, at Amarāvati, less than sixty miles by the flight of a crow from Vijayapuri. The aspiring Ikṣvāku promptly affirmed his overlordship of his outlying domains by the performance of the Brāhmanical sacrifices, the Agnihōtra,[26] Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya[27] and Aśvamēdha,[28] which he revived after more than a century of disuse. He was, by a conventional panegyric recurring in most of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, of unimpeded purpose in all his aims (*savathesu apatihata saṁpakasa*)[29], the giver of many crores of gold, of a hundred thousand kine and a hundred thousand ploughs[30] of land (*aneka-hirana-koti-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa*).[31] He was, reputedly, a devotee of the god Mahāsena[32] or Skanda (*Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahatisa*).[33]

The successors of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Cāṁtamūla were, following him, protagonists of Vedic Brāhmanism ; but, such was the spacious catholicity of the times that the royal ladies—among them, principally, his sister Cāṁtisiri (*Skrt.* Kṣāntiśrī)—were, surprisingly, very devout votaries of the Buddhist faith. To their benevolence, and especially to that of another outstanding benefactress though not of the ruling house, Bodhisiri (*Skrt.* Bodhiśrī), the notable monuments of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are almost entirely due.

Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata succeeded to an established and manifestly prosperous empire ; he further consolidated it by regions of influence, promoted by matrimonial alliances. He married the *Ujenikā mahārājabālikā*(?)[34] *Mahādēvi*

Rudradharabhaṭārikā,[35] daughter of the Scythian ruler of Ujjain,[36] Rudrasena I ;[37] his own daughter, Kodabalisiri,[38] Siri-Vīrapurisadata married to the Mahārāja[39] of Vanavāsa[40] (or Vaijayantī).[41] He forestalled domestic rivalries to the throne ; his sister, *Mahātalavari*[42] Aḍavi[43] Cāṁtisiri, became the wife of *Mahātalavara*[44] *Mahāsēnāpati*[45] *Mahādaṁḍanāyaka*[46] Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇaka[47] of the house of the Dhanakas, just as a sister of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Cāṁtamūla, Cāṁtisiri, had married *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhīputa Mahākaṁdasiri[48] of the Pūkiya clan.

Of the five queens of Siri-Vīrapurisadata, the chief, *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭidevā (*Skrt.* Bhaṭṭidevī), a Vāsiṣṭhī princess, was the mother of his successor, Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Bahuvaḷa Cāṁtamūla ; three were his own cousins, daughters of his father's sisters—of Haṁmasiri,[49] Chaṭhisiri (*Skrt.* Saṣṭhīśrī) and Bapisiriṇikā, and of Cāṁtisiri an unnamed daughter ;[50] the fifth was Rudradharabhaṭārikā, the so-called Scythian princess. The imperial consorts[51] achieved renown by their monumental benefactions to the Buddhist Church, taking it to its heyday in Ikṣvāku history.

In the succeeding reign of *Mahārāja* Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Bahuvaḷa Cāṁtamūla, the faith burned indeed with an undimmed glow, but Siri-Ruthrapurisadata, the last[52] king of the Ikṣvāku line known, was obliged, under the advancing might of two fiercely Brāhmanical dynasties, the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Pallavas, to retreat, in a defensive action, from Vijayapuri to found his rear-guard capital of Halapura.[53] Buddhism rapidly declined and Hiuen-Tsang, visiting them in a later day (*circa* A.D. 639), found the numerous monasteries mostly deserted and ruined.[54] For the rise of many sects obscured the core of Buddhist teaching and, thanks largely to the Mahāyāna, its cult of divine compassion and image worship, Buddhism was soon absorbed by the resurgent Brāhmanism. In a crowning assimilation the Buddha himself, admitted into the Hindu pantheon, became one of the ten incarnations (*daśa avatārs*) of the supreme God, Viṣṇu.

NOTES

1. Mentioned in the *Ṛg* (X, 60, 4) and *Atharva* (XIV, 39, 9) Vedas and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 5), a prose commentary on the *Yajur-veda* and a very important source-book on ancient India.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 70, 20-21 ; *Mahābhārata*, I, 75, 31-40 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, chapter 88, 8 f.
3. *Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṁsa-saṁbhavasa* (born of a race which is sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of the Ikṣvāku lineage) : *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription F, l. 1, p. 22. See also *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 124 (a compilation of the *Sutta-piṭaka*, the Buddhist Pāli canon) and Aṣvaghoṣa : *Saundarananda-kāvya*, I, 24.
4. H. Zimmer : *Altindisches Liben*, pp. 104, 130.
5. A. R. Macdonnel and Sir A. B. Keith : *Vedic Index*, I, p. 75.

6. *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 20, 24 ; 88, 81 ; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. IV, 2, 3 ; *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, 7, 45-48, 51 ; *Harivaṁśa* II, 661-664, 667 ; *Śiva-purāṇa*, VII, 60, 33-35, 37.

7. *Padma-purāṇa*, VI, 271, 5-4-55 ; *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 99, 199 ; Kālidāsa : *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 34.

8. *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 88, 177-178.

9. By Nayasena (B. V. Krishna Rao : *Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa*, 9. 122 f.; K. Gopalachari : *Early History of the Āndhra Country*, p. 129).

10. The find at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa of 148 lead coins (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) of the Sātavāhana age (*Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1928-9, p. 103) evidently points to the inclusion of the kingdom of the Ikṣvākus in the dominions of the Sātavāhanas.

11. According to a notable inscription, of about the second century A.D., at Allūru (part of the Ikṣvāku territory, as proved by the votive inscriptions of Jaggayyapeṭa in the vicinity) in Kṛṣṇa district of Āndhra State (*Annual Report of the Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97 ; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-4, p. 93 ; *Calcutta Review*, July 1925). The inscription itself does not name the *Mahātalavara*, but this title of nobility was distinctively characteristic of the Ikṣvāku epoch.

12. The earliest Indian alphabet known.

13. Similar to the dialect of the inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga (183 B.C.), in the Hāthigumphā cave of the Udayagiri hill near Bhuvaneśvar (Orissa State).

14. By Sten Konow (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 25) who thought that the dialect of the inscriptions had a Kannaḍa substratum, on an erroneous rendering of words such as Calikireṁmaṇaka. This word is clearly Caliki-ramaṇaka (of the husband of Caliki), and not, as the Professor would make it in an unaccountable ellipsis, Cali-kiraṇaka, translating it into somewhat fanciful Kannaḍa—'of cool rays' to signify the Moon. And, incidentally, *cali* in Kannaḍa is not an adjective but a noun meaning 'chilly weather'.

15. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 1-37 and XXI, pp. 61-62.

16. *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 110.

17. Also called Guṁmiḍidurru in the Nandigāma sub-division of Kṛṣṇa district (*Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1930-4, part I, p. 238.

18. Three miles from Rentachintala in the Gurazāla sub-division of Guntur district (T. N. Ramachandran : *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Gōli Village*, pp. 39-41).

19. The town of the sub-division named after it.

20. Meaning 'The fount of forbearance', and not Kṣāntamūla (*per* Sten Konow in *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 26) nor Śāntamūla (suggested by D. C. Sircar : *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 17, n.1.).

21. Understandably, as read by K. P. Jayaswal, following Hirananda Sastri (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1933, p. 173, n.1), and not *Ehuvula* according to J. Ph. Vogel (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 5).

22. Mentioned in an unpublished inscription recently discovered at Gurazāla : "... *Halapūrasāminaṁ apaṇo ayuvadhanikaṁ Ikhākunam Duka-siri sataṁ saṁpadatāṁ Mahārajasa Siri-Ruthra-Pūrisa-dātāsa* ..." By the Ikṣvāku custom of naming the grandson after his grandfather, Siri-Ruthrapurisadata was not improbably the grandson of Siri-Vīrapurisadata and, therefore, the next in succession to Siri-Bahuvaḷa Cāṁtamūla, as his son.

23. Skrt. *Ikṣvāku-svāmi* (Lord of the Ikṣvākus) : *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, Inscription L, pp. 63-64—an apparent homage to the founder of the line.

24. This Ikṣvāku custom of prefixing metronymics, such as Vāsiṭhīputa (son of Vāsiṣṭhī) and Māḍharīputa (son of Māṭharī), to the personal names of kings is evidently modelled on the practice of the Sātavāhanas—to instance two famous examples, Gautamī-putra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śri Pulōmāvi.

25. Although no inscription of his reign has yet been discovered the inscriptions of the time of his son and grandson, in copious and nearly identical accounts, proclaim his majesty and prowess.

26. *Agihot-[A]giṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājasa* : *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription E, p. 21 ; occurring also in Inscriptions C 2 (p.19), C 4 (p. 20), G (p. 23) and H (p. 24), and *Ibid.*, XXI, Inscriptions G 2 and G 3 (p. 62).

27. By the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V. 1.1.13), the *Vājapeya* postulated a superior kingship, *sāṁrājya* (distinguished from *rājya*, the regal dignity *simpliciter*) in the performer.

28. According to the *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra*, (XV, 1.1.2), only a *Sārvabhauma* (sovereign) could accomplish the Aśvamedha—a pointer to Siri-Cāṁtamūla's vanquishment of his Sātavāhana overlord.

29. Skrt. *sarvārtheṣu apratihata saṁkalpa.*

30. Probably signifying a schematic reclamation of cultivable land, a ' plough ' of land being a measure of it which a ploughshare could till.

31. Skrt. *aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-śatasahasra-hala-śatasahasra-pradānaḥ* (?), among the *mahādānas* (great charities) recounted by the *Matsya-purāṇa*.

32. Like the Kadambas and Cālukyas, other distinguished Brāhmanical South Indian dynasties.

33. Skrt. *Virūpākṣapati-Mahāsena-parigṛhīta* (favoured by Mahāsena, the lord of the Virūpākṣas), a host of snakes, by the *Vinaya Piṭakam* (edited by H. Oldenberg), II, p. 110.

34. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription B 5 (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 19) has, however, *Ujanikā mahārabalikā*, which J. Ph. Vogel would eke out to read *Ujenika mahārājabālikā*, meaning 'daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjain'. Should an interpretation of *mahārabalikā* itself be forthcoming, the conjecture would naturally be shaken. And, it is necessary to add, the orthography of this inscription is not otherwise erroneous.

35. As J. Ph. Vogel reads *Rudradharabhaṭrika* of the inscription B 5. She does not, however, state her relation to the king in the epigraph, unlike his other queens in theirs. And, although *Rudra* is a frequent component of the names of the kings of Ujjain (such as Rudra-dāman, Rudra-sena and Rudra-siṁha), there is no Rudra-dhara among them, of whom she could possibly have been a sister. *En passant*, could Rudradhara, synonymous with Mahāsena (the patron god of the Ikṣvākus) be a name—in the context of Ruthrapurisadata—indigenous to their territory?

36. Ptolemy's *Ozēne* (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, section 63, pp. 154-155), the capital of Tiastanes (Caṣṭana), of the Scythian dynasty of Western Satraps who styled themselves *Mahārājas* (E. J. Rapson : *Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty etc.*, p. 190).

37. (A.D. 198-222), rather than his brothers Saṅghadāman (A.D. 222-223) and Dāmasena (A.D. 223-236).

38. *[Ko]da[ba]lisiri* of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription H, the bracketed letters being suggested by J. Ph. Vogel (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 24).

39. Not named in the inscription.

40. Modern Banavāsi in the Sirsi division of North Kanara district of Bombay State and not, as J. Ph. Vogel places it (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 8) in Shimoga district of Mysore State.

41. The capital of the Cutu Sātakarṇis (the Purāṇic *Āndhra-bhṛtyas* or ' servants of the Āndhras ') a dynasty feudatory at first and later successor to the Sātavāhanas in their south-western dominions.

42. The feminine of *Mahātalavara*—his consort.

43. According to J. Ph. Vogel (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 26) ; or could it be *Pṛthvī*, understandable as a feminine name, meaning the ' earth ' ?

44. Defined by the *Subodhikā*, (leaf 60, 11.6, 7), a Saṁskṛt commentary by Vinayavijaya on the Jain canonical treatise *Kalpasūtra*, as ' an officer of the king ' (*tuṣta-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭabandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthānīyāḥ*). This title of viceregal dignity, of the epoch of the Sātavāhanas, has been

debased in its present variant of *talavari* in Telugu (Tamil *talaiyāri* and Kannaḍa *taḷavara*) to denote a ' village watchman '.

45. ' Great Chief of the Army ', Generalissimo ; by the Myakadoni inscription of Pulōmāvi II (*Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, pp. 155, 160), a feudatory chieftain in the times of the Sātavāhanas.

46. A high judicial dignitary, from *daṇḍa*, ' rod of justice ', rather than ' Commander of the Army ' (suggested by the alternative meaning of *daṇḍa as ' army '*), which would be redundant beside the title of *Mahāsēnāpati* already borne by him.

47. *Skrt.* Skanda-viśākha ; by his offices, the foremost nobleman of the realm.

48. *Skrt.* Mahāskandaśrī.

49. *Skrt.* Harmyasrī ?

50. Cāṁtisiri who calls herself merely the paternal aunt (*pituchā*) of Siri-Vīrapurisadata in the sixth year of his reign (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription C 3, p. 16) refers to him, twelve years later (*Ibid.*, XX, Inscription E, p. 21) as her son-in-law (*apaṇo jāṁ[a]tuka*).

51. The fanciful theory (B. V. Krishna Rao : *Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa*, pp. 57 f.), crediting them with converting their Brāhmanical lord to the Buddhist faith, rests upon a misreading of isolated sculptures at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. These sculptures (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 32, plates (c) and (a)) certainly represent the *Māndhātu Jātaka* and not, as theorised, Siri-Vīrapurisadata stamping on the *liṅga*, the supreme symbol of Brāhmanism, in the bigotry of the neophyte to Buddhism. A recently discovered (unpublished) inscription which refers to his catholic patronage of other religions besides Buddhism (*Saka-samayasa-para-samayasa*) completely belies this theory.

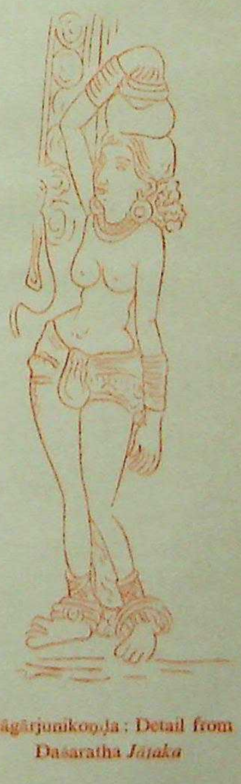
52. Not, as S. N. Dikshit (in a paper to the Indian Historical Congress, 1953) thinks, the first of the Ikṣvākus, which undoubtedly Siri-Cāṁtamūla was—*Ikhāku-sāmi*, the founder of the line, by the recurring panegyric of the inscriptions.

53. Literally, ' Town of the plough ', preserved in its Telugu variant of Nāgali-varaṁ, the present village between Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Macherla.

54. T. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 214.

THE BENEFACTRESSES

OF the royal benefactresses, the foremost was *Mahātalavari* Cāṁtisiri, sister[1] to Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Cāṁtamūla ; in the florid testament of the inscriptions, she was " the great mistress of munificence (*mahādānapatinī*), devoted to all the virtuous ", and " out of compassion for *śramaṇas* (ascetics), Brāhmaṇas and the miserable, poor and destitute ", she was " wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow of *Velāmic*[2] gifts "[3] towards " the longevity and victory of her son-in-law, Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata, for the sake of her own welfare in both the worlds, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, and for the past, future and present bliss of the great community of Buddhist monks, all the holy men who have renounced the world and penetrated into various countries ".[4]



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Detail from Daśaratha *Jātaka*

Most important of all, she reconstructed[5] (rather than erected)[6] the *Mahācetiya* (Skrt. *Mahācaitya*), embellishing it with *āyaka* (Skrt. *āryaka*) *khaṁbhas* (votive pillars) in groups of five at the four cardinal points. It is on these pillars that the inscriptions are chiefly engraved ; they constitute the principal source-book on the Ikṣvākus at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The *Mahācetiya* was dedicated to the *ācāryas* (Masters) of the *Aparamahāvinaseliya* sect[7] of Buddhism, for whose benefit Cāṁtisiri also established, at the foot of the *Mahācetiya*, a *cetiya-ghara* (Skrt. *caitya-gṛha*) or apsidal temple, a pillared hall (*sela-maṁḍava*)[8] surrounded by a cloister *cātusāla*[9] and " provided with everything ".[10]

Other royal votaries were *Mahādēvī* Rudradharabhaṭārikā who gave, towards the raising of the *Mahācetiya*, 170 *dīnāri*[11]-*māsakas*,[12] and a votive pillar ;[13] *Mahātalavari* Aḍavi Cāṁtisiri,[14] *Mahāsēnāpatini* Cula-Cāṁtisiriṇikā,[15] *Mahādēvī* Bapisiriṇikā,[16] *Mahādēvī* Chaṭhisiri[17] and an unnamed wife[18] of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhīputa Mahākaṁdasiri of the Pūkiyas, who set up each a stone pillar to the *Mahācetiya* for their " welfare and happiness in both the worlds " ; *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭidevā[19] who erected a monastery (*vihāra*), "with all essentials", for the *ācāryas* of the Bahusutīya sect,[20] and *Mahādēvī* Kodabalisiri[21] who rendered for the *ācāryas* of the Mahisāsakas[22] a like service, executed by Dhaṁmaghosa (*Skrt*. Dharmaghoṣa), " the great teacher of the Law ".

But the most memorable of all the benefactions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were by the lay votaress (*uvāsikā*)[23] of Govagāma,[24] Bodhisiri, wife of Budhiṁnaka and niece of the royal treasurer (*kothākārika*) ;[25] " for the benefit of the venerable *ācāryas* of Acaṇṭa[26] (Ajaṇṭā) and for the acceptance (*suparigahe*) especially of the fraternities of the monks of Taṁbapaṁṇi[27] (Ceylon) whose faith is shared by the people of Kasmira[28] (*Skrt*. Kaśmīra), Gaṁdhāra[29] (*Skrt*. Gandhāra), Cīna (China), Cilāta[30] (*Skrt*. Kirāta), Tosali,[31] Avaraṁta[32] (*Skrt*. Aparānta), Vaṁga (Bengal), Vanavāsi,[33] Yavana,[34] Damila[35] and Palura,[36] she caused to be made at the *vihāra* on the Cula (Small) Dhaṁmagiri (*Skrt*. Kṣudra Dharmagiri) a *caitya*-hall with a flooring of slabs and a *caitya*, provided with all the necessaries ", for the merit of her long-listed relations. And, likewise, she dedicated a *caitya*-hall at the Kulaha*vihāra*,[37] a shrine for the Bodhi tree[38] at the Sīhaḷa[39] (Siṁhaḷa)-*vihāra*, a cell (*ovaraka*) at the Mahā (Great) Dharmagiri, a *maṇḍava*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra,[40] a hall for religious practice (*padhāna-sālā*)[41] at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah (*alaṁda*) and *maṇḍava* at Puvasela[42] (*Skrt*. Pūrvaśaila), a stone *maṇḍava* at Kaṇṭakasela[43] (*Skrt*. Kaṇṭakaśaila), three cells at Hirumuthuva, seven cells at Papilā, a stone *maṇḍava* at Puphagiri[44] (*Skrt*. Puṣpagiri) and another at a *vihāra*, of which the name has been lost, " for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and of the whole world ", executed by the stone mason (*sela-vadhāki*) Vidhika under the superintendents of works (*navakaṁmikas*), the *theras* Caṁdamukha (*Skrt*. Candramukha), Dhaṁmanaṁdi (*Skrt*. Dharmanandi) and Nāga.

These names are important, for Nāgārjunikoṇḍa had not only become the focus of the votaries of Buddhism from all over India, but such was its vast renown as a centre of enlightenment that *ācāryas* and fraternities of monks were also drawn to it, in a pilgrimage through history, all the way from Ceylon to China.

NOTES

1. And also mother of Khaṁdasāgaraṁṇaka (*Skrt.* Skandasāgara).

2. *Velāmika*, ' of Velāma ', a legendary figure renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 33).

3. *Ibid.*, XX, Inscription C 2, pp. 16-17.

4. *Ibid.*, XX, Inscription E, pp. 21-22.

5. According to Hirananda Sastri (*Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1928-9).

6. But J. Ph. Vogel renders *samuthapiyamāna* (Skrt. *samutthāpyamāna*), as applied to the *Mahācetiya*, into ' founded ' or ' originated ' (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription B 5, pp. 19, 34). The *Mahācetiya* was completed (*niṭhapita*) by a disciple of the *ācāryas* of the *Ayira-haṁgha* (Skrt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) or *Theravāda*, the Reverend Ānanda " who knew by heart " the *Dīgha-* and the *Majjhima-ṅikāyas*, compilations of the *Sutta-piṭaka*, the Pāli Buddhist canon (*Ibid.*, XX, Inscriptions C 1, p. 17 and C 2, p. 20).

7. Identified by J. Ph. Vogel (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 10-11) with the *Apara-selikas*, a sub-division with the *Pubba* (Skrt. *Pūrva*)-*selikas*, of the *Mahāsaṁghikas* (the schismatic " progressives " who seceded from the orthodox Buddhist Church in 390 B.C.), mentioned by the Ceylonese Pāli chronicles, *Dīpavaṁsa* (V, 54) and *Mahāvaṁsa* (V, 12). These sects were probably so-called after the monasteries *Pūrvaśaila* (Fu-po-shih-lo) and *Aparaśaila* (A-fa-lo-shih-lo), to the east and west of Dhānyakaṭaka, described by Hiuen-Tsang (T. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 214-215, 217-219).

8. Skrt. *Śaila-maṇḍapa*.

9. Skrt. *Catuḥ-śāla*. ' a quadrangular building built round an inner courtyard' (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 28).

10. *Ibid.*, XX, Inscription E, pp. 21-22.

11. *Skrt.* dīnāra, a gold coin of about 124 grains, first struck by the Kuṣāṇa dynasty (*circa* A.D. 78) in imitation of the Roman *denarius* (D. R. Bhandarkar : *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 181). The *dīnāras* certainly owed their currency in the Ikṣvāku territory to the very considerable maritime traffic of the time with Rome (attested by the find of the coins of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117-38, at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) and not, on the hypothesis of the Scythian origin of Rudradharabhaṭārikā, to the Western Satraps, feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas (*per* D. C. Sircar : *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 27). That the Āndhra poet Śrīnātha should refer, so late as A.D. 1450, to gifts of *dīnāras* is proof that the word had long become synonymous in the Telugu language with a gold coin.

12. Skrt. *māṣaka*, a sixteenth part of the standard *dīnāra* (D. C. Sircar : *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 27, n. 1).

13. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription B 5, p. 19.

14. *Ibid.*, XX, Inscription B 2, p. 18.

15. Skrt. *Mahāsenāpatni* Kṣudra-Kṣāntiśrī, daughter of the family of the Kulahakas and wife of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhīputa Khaṁdacalikireṁmaṇaka (*Skrt.* Skanda-Calikiramaṇa ?) of the Hiraṁṇaka (*Skrt.* Hiraṇyaka) clan (*Ibid.*, XX, Inscription B 4, p. 13).

16. *Ibid.*, XX, Inscription C 2, pp. 19-20.

17. *Ibid.*, XX, Inscription C 4, p. 20.

18. Obviously a co-wife of *Mahātalavari* Cāṁtisiri, and the mother of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātala-vara* Viṇhusiri (*Skrt.* Viṣṇuśri).

19. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription G, pp. 23-24.

20. Skrt. *Bahuśrutīya*, a sub-division of the Gokulika branch of the *Mahāsaṅghikas* (M. Walleser : *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 6, 21).

21. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription H, pp. 24-25.

22. Skrt. *Mahiṣāsaka*, a section of the orthodox *Theravādins* who flourished in the Āndhra country (M. Walleser : *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 7, 22.).

23. Skrt. *upāsikā*.

24. *Skrt*. Gōpagrāma, but the ancient name for the modern town of Goa on the west coast was Gōvapuri (*Skrt*. Gōpakapuri) : *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 117 ; *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, I, p. 220 f.

25. Skrt. *Koṣṭhāgārika*.

26. *Acaṇṭa* rather than *bhadaṁta* as J. Ph. Vogel renders the ellipsis in l. 1 of Inscription F, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 22, n. 3. The famous passage would, therefore, run : "*Acanta* [*ra*] *jācarīyānaṁ Kasmira-Gaṁdhara-Cina-Cīlāta-Tosali-Avaraṁta-Vaṁga-Vanavāsi- Yava*[*na*]-*Da*[*mila-Pa*]*lura-Taṁbapaṁṇi-dīpa-pas*[*ā*]*dakam theriyānaṁ Taṁbapa*[*ṁ*]*nakānaṁ suparigahe* . . . " Of these, the Ceylonese chronicles *Dīpavaṁsa*, chapter VIII, and *Mahāvaṁsa*, chapter XII, mention Kaśmīra, Gaṅdhāra, Vanavāsa, Aparāntaka and Yona among the territories converted to Buddhism by monks sent from India after the third Buddhist Council convened by Aśoka.

27. Skrt. *Tāmraparṇa*, the *Taprobane* of Greek writers (J. W. McCrindle : *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 144 ; *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 247, 251-253).

28. The modern State of Kashmir.

29. The ancient kingdom on both sides of the river Indus (*Sindhorubhayataḥ pārśve*, Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 113.11 ; 114.11), comprising roughly the Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts of West Pakistan.

30. The *Kirrhadia* of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (J. W. McCrindle's translation, p. 145), a Mongolian tribe of man-eating savages " whose noses are flattened to the face ", synonymous with Ptolemy's *Kirrhadai* (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 192 f) and located by him around the river Brahmaputra, in the region of Sylhet in East Pakistan (G. E. Gerini : *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* etc., pp. 51-53, 829 ; N. L. Dey : *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 54). By the *Mahābhārata* (V. 19.15), the peoples of Cīna and Cilāta were led to the battle of Kurukṣetra by Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam), and among the countries visited by trading merchants the *Milinda pañha* (edited by V. Trenckner, pp. 327, 331) mentions Cīna and Cilāta with Yavana.

31. Modern Dhauli in Puri district (ancient Kaliṅga) of Orissa State, where a set of the Fourteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka, addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (*mahāmātras*) of Tosali, have been discovered.

32. Corresponding to North Konkan on the west coast, with its capital at Śūrpāraka, Sopara today in Thana district of Bombay State, mentioned in Aśoka's Fifth Rock Edict and in the Nasik Cave III inscription among the dominions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 60). By the Ceylonese chronicles (*Dīpavaṁsa*, viii, 7 and *Mahāvaṁsa*, xii, 4, 34). Aparānta was converted to Buddhism by the Greek (*Yonaka*) Dhaṁmarakkhita (*Skrt*. Dharmarakṣita).

33. The present town of Banavāsi in North Kanara district of Bombay State.

34. Strictly, the country of the Ionians (Greeks), but here probably, the territory of the ancient Indo-Greek kingdoms, Bactria and Parthia, about and beyond Afghanistan. By the Ceylonese chronicles (*Dīpavaṁsa*, viii, 9 and *Mahāvaṁsa*, xii, 5, 39-40), Yavana was converted to Buddhism by Mahārakkhita (*Skrt*. Mahārakṣita).

35. Of uncertain reading, Damila corresponds to *Skrt*. Draviḍa, the Tamil country.

36. The first syllable, *Pa*, is conjectural. By assuming the etymology of the word to be *Pal* (tooth)-*ūra* (town), Sylvain Lévi (*Indian Antiquary*, LV, pp. 94 f.) would identify it with Dantapura (' town of the tooth '), the ancient capital of Kaliṅga ; but, this derivation of Palura is questionable. It was apparently the *Paloura* of Ptolemy, the village some six miles north-east of the ancient port of

Ganjam in Orissa State (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXII, p. 1 f.), although he places the town, erroneously, at the extremity of an imaginary peninsula, marking the beginning of the Gangetic Gulf (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 63, 69).

37. The monastery due to the Kulahaka family ?

38. *Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda* (Skrt. *Bodhi-vṛkṣa-prāsāda*), a common adjunct to this day of *vihāras* in Ceylon.

39. Founded for the accommodation of Sinhalese monks, not erected by a Ceylonese.

40. To which the *Mahācetiyā* belonged (*mahāvihārasa mahācetiyam*) : *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription B 5, p. 19.

41. Skrt. *prārdhana-śālā*.

42. The monastery described by Hiuen-Tsang as having been erected, along with Aparaśaila, by a former king of Dhānyakaṭaka, for the use of Buddhist monks who went there, in a thousand, every year to spend the retreat of the rainy season (T. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, pp. 214-215 ; 217-221). Pūrvaśaila was probably the Vaikuṅṭhapuram hill, three miles east of Amarāvati, which contains structural remains of unexplored *stūpas* and *vihāras*.

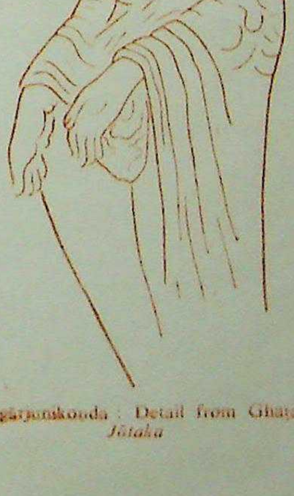
43. ' The hill of thorns ', Ptolemy's *Kontakossyla*, (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 66, 68), placed by him near the mouth of the river *Maisolos* (Kṛṣṇa) and represented by the modern village of Ghaṇṭasāla, thirteen miles west of Masulipatam.

44. ' The hill of flowers '.

HERITAGE OF AMARĀVATI

THE impulses of the culture of Amarāvati[1] voyaged, in the wake of the prosperous maritime traffic[2] of the Sātavāhanas, to the countries east and west ; the flourishing commercial class, turned Buddhist, helped raise the stupendous monuments of the faith ; and in going forth, sometimes to settle, they truly laid the foundations of art in Farther India.

The river Kṛṣṇa, known to the Greek geographer Ptolemy[3] as *Maisolos*,[4] was certainly navigable, at high tide, a long way inland, as the Buddhist settlements by the river—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Gōli,[5] Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeṭa,[6] Vijayawāda,[7] Bhaṭṭiprōlu[8] and Ghaṇṭasāla[9]—doubtless testify. The river was the main artery of the foreign trade ; its principal emporium[10] was Ghaṇṭasāla and the earliest Āndhra emigrants chiefly embarked[11] about Gūḍūru (Ptolemy's *Koddoura*)[12] at the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa, although alternative points of departure might also have existed at the estuaries of the Gōdāvari and the Vaṁśadhāra (at Śālihuṇḍam).[13] The seaward basin of the Kṛṣṇa was, as G. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out,[14] certainly fortunate in the confluence of the highways of Āndhra history in Veṅgī,[15] the meeting-place of the ancient roads from the kingdoms of Kaliṅga, Draviḍa, Karṇāṭaka, Mahārāṣṭra and Kośala. The early colonists, sailing from the



Nāgārjunakoṇḍa : Detail from Ghaṭa *Jātaka*

Āndhra coast, would seem to have landed at the port of Martaban in Burma and settled, at first, in the region of Thaton and then in the deltas of the Salween and Irrawaddy rivers, round about Pegu ;[16] later, pushing south, they probably arrived in Thailand and fanned out, eventually, into Indonesia, and the ancient kingdoms[17] of present-day Indo-China and thence, in a final stretch of migration, to China. Naturally, the settlers carried with them their own culture and religion and images for worship.

Other waves of emigration were later ; one, in Gupta times, from the port of Tāmralipti[18] (modern Tamluk) on the river Hooghly in Bengal ; traders and missionaries set out from the imperial capital of Pāṭaliputra and chiefly followed the well-known route of the Āndhra settlers *via* Martaban, except perhaps for an occasional detour to Akyab and Arakan on the Burma coast. Another, and very important, route was opened out in the times of the Pallavas (successors to the Ikṣvākus in their territories) from Māmallapuram,[19] the illustrious port of metropolitan Kāñcī ; the way lay straight across the Bay of Bengal to Mergui on the coast of Burma ; then, dipping southwards *via* Tenasserim to Takuapā[20] and the Straits of Malacca, it coursed onward to Sumatra, Java or Borneo. A fourth, but infrequent, route[21] went the entire sea-way round the island of Singapore to the Gulf of Siam, for radiating settlements south-eastwards to Indonesia as well as northwards to Indo-China.

In time, the voyages were reversed and, with the rise of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa as an international seat of Buddhist culture, the *ācāryas* and *sthaviras* from the arc of countries from Ceylon to China, took up their abode at Siripavata, seeking light. The heritage of Amarāvati, radiated from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Mahāyāna phase of Buddhism, passed into the national cultures of East Asia, manifested in their inscriptions[22] and especially in their nascent styles of art ; from Dong-duong[23] in Campā (Annam) ; from the village of P'ong Tuk[24] in the province of Ratburi and Srideb[25] (Śrīdeva) in the valley of the Pa-Sak river in Thailand ; from South Djember[26] in Java, Sempaga[27] in Celebes, Palembang[28] in Sumatra, Kota Bangoen[29] in Borneo, and Anurādhapura[30] in Ceylon has issued Buddhist statuary which is indelibly impressed with the sculptural style of Amarāvati.

NOTES

1. From the characters of its earliest Brāhmī inscriptions, the Amarāvati *stūpa* was certainly constructed before 200 B.C., its grand sculptured railing erected by Nāgārjuna about A.D. 150 and the *stūpa* further enlarged and embellished with great richness right up to A.D. 250 (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, pp. 122-123).

2. To which the coins of *sāmi Pulumāvi*, with the device of a ship with masts, picked up between Madras and Cuddalore on the Coromandel coast bear witness (E. J. Rapson : *Catalogue of the*

Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty etc., p. 24) and also attested by the finds of large numbers of Roman coins at Vinukoṇḍa in Guntur district and in Nellore and Cuddapah districts of Āndhra State (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 599 f.).

3. Klaudius Ptolemaios (A.D. 140), the great Alexandrian geographer, mathematician and astronomer.

4. Not the river Gōdāvari, as Sylvain Lévi (*Indian Antiquary*, LV, pp. 146-147) would have it. Ptolemy's *Maisolia* (the *Masalia* of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, " the sea-board of a country extending far inland " where immense quantities of fine muslins are manufactured) was the coast between the *Maisolos* (Kṛṣṇa) and the Gōdāvari and onward thence to the neighbourhood of Palura (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 66, 68). The name of *Maisolia*, the greatest market of the Āndhra empire, is probably preserved in the modern port of Masulipatam.

5. From the consonances of its sculptures with the contemporary style of Amarāvati, the *stūpa* of Gōli was evidently constructed about A.D. 250.

6. Assigned to *circa* 200 B.C., the *Mahācetiya* of Jaggayyapeṭa stood on the bank of the Kṛṣṇa nearly opposite to Amarāvati, with which it was contemporaneous. At the eastern gate of the *stūpa* were discovered (by J. Burgess in 1882) three inscribed pillars, recording, in identical epigraphs, the gift of five *āyaka-khaṁbhas* by the artisan (*āvesani*) Siddhattha (Skrt. Siddhārtha) in the twentieth regnal year of Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata (J. Burgess : *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati* and *Jaggayyapeṭa*, pp. 110 f, plates LXII, LXIII ; H. Luders : 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions', Nos. 1202-1204, *Epigraphia Indica*, X, pp. 139 f.).

7. At Vidyādharapuram in Vijayawāda (Bezwada) in the Kṛṣṇa district of Āndhra State, where the remains of a *caitya* and marble figures of the Buddha, in the Amarāvati style, have been recovered.

8. In the Repalle sub-division of Guntur district, twenty-four miles south-west of Masulipatam. One of the earliest *stūpas* constructed, it is dated, by its variety of the Brāhmī alphabet, the third century B.C., of the time of Aśoka, and, according to its inscriptions, was built over a relic of the Buddha (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 323-329).

9. An important Buddhist centre contemporaneous with Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeṭa.

10. The other mart of *Maisolia*, mentioned by Ptolemy, was *Allosygne* or Koringa (Korangi), a port a little beyond Point Gōdāvari (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 67). And, market towns (*nigamas*) of this region specified in the inscriptions are Dhaññakaṭaka (*Epigraphia Indica*, XV, Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 262-263), Kevurūra and Nārasala (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, No. 17, plate LVII and *Epigraphia Indica* XV, No. 56, p. 274) and Vijayapura (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, No. 30, plate LVIII, p. 85).

11. Ptolemy mentions, without naming, a point of departure (*apheterion*) in *Maisolia*, north of *Allosygne*, for ships bound for *Khryse* (the Golden Chryse, *viz.*, the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago) : J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 66, 69.

12. The Kūdūra of an Amarāvati inscription of the second century A.D. (H. Lüders : 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions ', No. 1295, *Epigraphia Indica*, X, Appendix) ; also mentioned as the name of an *āhāra* or district, Kūdūrahāra, in a copper-plate grant of the third century A.D. of Koṇḍamuḍi (in the Tenali sub-division of Guntur district) by *Mahārāja* Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, successors to the Ikṣvākus (*Epigraphia Indica*, VI, p. 315 f.).

13. Six miles west of the port of Kaliṅgapaṭnam, in Śrīkākulam district of Āndhra State where the remains of a Buddhist *caitya* have been excavated.

14. In a Foreword to K. R. Subramanian's *Buddhist Remains in Āndhra*, p.v.

15. Or Veṅgināḍu, the doab between the Kṛṣṇa and the Gōdāvari rivers, the historic core of the Āndhra country.

16. Burmese traditions credit the Āndhras (or Telugus, echoed in the Talaings of Burma) with settlements at Pegu (Phayre : *History of Burma*, p. 24 ; J. G. Scott : *Burma from the earliest times to the present day*, p. 12).

17. Campā, comprising modern Annam, and Funan, west of Campā, including Cochin-China, Cambodia, Thailand and parts of Malaya.

18. Ptolemy's *Tamalites*, the present town of Tamluk in Midnapore district of West Bengal, in ancient times a great emporium of trade on the Ganges (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 167, 168, 169, 170). It was from Tāmralipti that Fa-hien re-embarked for China in A.D. 414.

19. Correctly Mahāmallapuram (corrupted into modern Mahābalipuram), celebrated for its magnificent rock-cut reliefs, cave temples and monolithic *rathas* or chariots.

20. The *Takola* of Ptolemy, a mart of the Golden Chryse (J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 197, 198, 199).

21. Because the shortcut across the Siamese portion of the Malay peninsula, from Takuapā to the Bay of Bandon on the east coast, was more frequently traversed (Reginald le May : 'A General Survey of Art in South-Eastern Asia ', *Art and Letters*, XXIII, No. 1, p. 4).

22. Of a king of the Śri Māra dynasty from Vo-Canh in Campā (Bergaigne : *Inscriptions Sanskrites du Campā et Cambodge*, XX) ; of king Mūlavarman at Kutei and Moera Kaman in Borneo on *yūpas* or sacrificial posts (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, XII, pp. 14-17), and of king Pūrṇavarman from West Java (J. Ph. Vogel : *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, pp. 15-25). These inscriptions are in Saṁskṛt, in a script called by epigraphists differently 'Veṅgī' and 'Pallava-Graṅtha ', corresponding closely with that employed in the Sātavāhana inscriptions of the second century A.D. at Kaṇherī near Bombay.

23. In the province of Quang-Nam. The bronze standing Buddha (in the Hanoi Museum), from the shrine of Lokeśvara at Dong-duong, by the treatment of the monastic robe or *saṅghātī*, is unmistakably derived from Amarāvati.

24. On the right bank of the Meklong or Kanburi river, by the ancient highway of commerce across Burma to the Far East. P'ong Tuk's bronze statuette of the Buddha, of not much later than the second century A.D., from its distinctive style of drapery, is clearly of Amarāvati. Further evidence of the early intercourse of Thailand with the Kṛṣṇa valley is furnished by other discoveries at P'ong Tuk (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1927, pp. 16-20 ; Reginald le May : 'A General Survey of Art in South-Eastern Asia ', *Art and Letters*, XXIII, No. 1, p. 5), of a *stūpa*, the style of the plinth of which is doubtless owed to Amarāvati (even if mediately through Anurādhapura in Ceylon), and of a fish-shaped Greco-Roman lamp of Pompeian style of the second century A.D., probably a copy of its like mentioned in the Allūru Brāhmī inscription—*vadālābhikaro*[*ra*] *yonaka divikayo* (*Annual Report of the Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97 ; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-4, p. 93 ; *Calcutta Review*, July 1925) rather than an importation from the Mediterranean.

25. An ancient city, discovered in the heart of Thailand, north of the modern town of Petchabun (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient*, XXXI, p. 402 ; G. Coèdes: *Melanges Linossier* pp. 159-164). The statuary of the temples of Śrīdeva includes magnificent sandstone torsos of a *yakṣiṇī* or fertility spirit (in the National Museum at Bangkok), a masterpiece of conception and execution, and of Brāhmanical gods, evidencing a complete mastery of form. Dateable by the inscriptions discovered at the site to the fifth century A.D., the torsos are in a transitional style from Amarāvati to Pallava sculpture.

26. Where a bronze statuette of the Buddha, in the authentic tradition of Amarāvati, has been unearthed.

27. A fragmentary Buddha in bronze, probably imported from Amarāvati, rather than a local rendering (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1933, plate viii).

28. The colossal stone Buddha of Bukit Seguntung at Palembang, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Śri Vijaya, has stylistic affinities with the earlier phase of Amarāvati sculpture of the second century A.D.

29. The bronze Buddha from Kota Bangoen, in the distinctive style of Amarāvati, was unfortunately destroyed by fire in the Paris exhibition of 1931 (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1926, plate xi ; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1935, I, p. 38).

30. The manifest derivation of the sculpture of Anurādhapura from Amarāvati is proclaimed by dolomite statues of two standing Buddhas and a Bodhisattva (rather than Dutta Gamini as traditionally identified), arranged originally around the base of the Ruwanweli *dāgaba* (*stūpa*) at Anurādhapura, and by guardians of the gates (*dvārapālas*) with many-headed cobra-hoods as at Amarāvati. The sculptured platforms (*wāhalkadas*) of the *dāgaba* itself derive, architecturally, from the original offshoots on the *stūpas* of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, although their *āyaka-khaṁbhas* have been omitted in the Ceylonese adaptations. And, incidentally, the graceful portraits in the Sīgiriya (Siṁha-giri or ' Lion Rock ') frescoes of the queens of the Ceylonese king Kassapa I (A.D. 479-497) are clearly drawn from the maidens of the Amarāvati reliefs and their coeval Āndhra paintings in Cave X of the renowned caves of Ajaṇṭā.

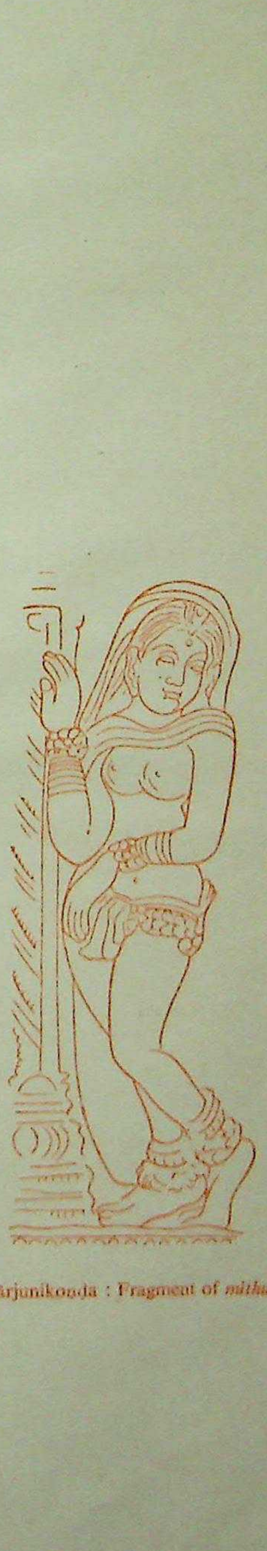
ARCHITECTURE

THE architecture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is really in the process of discovery; but the excavated remains fall into typical structures, of which the evolution has been uncovered by the diggings in progress.

Of these, the *caityas* are oblong[1] apsidal temples of thick high walls, but without a window ;[2] a brick roof, shaped like a barrel-vault, runs the whole length from the apse at one end to the entrance at the other ; the threshold is embellished by a carved step of semi-circular stone,[3] carried in the *dāgabas*[4] of Anurādhapura[5] and Polonnāruva in Ceylon to further decorative refinements. The walls themselves, except for a few rows of simple mouldings along the plinth and cornice of the *caitya*, are bare of exterior ornament, but the barrel-vaulted roof is crowned with a line of towering finials (*stūpis*) of pottery. In the apse is a *stūpa*, usually of stone, for worship, but not invariably ; statues of the Buddha, reflecting the contemporary revolution in iconography,[6] are not uncommon.

The more outstanding *caityas* (like the *Mahācetiya* which enshrined a relic of the Buddha[7] himself) probably stood by themselves, close to the monasteries, for the worship of vast congregations ; but a *caitya* was also a constant component of each monastic establishment. This was conceived with a rare economy of religious purpose ; in the forefront was a *caitya*, or sometimes two, with a *stūpa* and a passage for the circumambulation (*pradakṣina*) of the monks ; then, facing the *caitya*, was the *vihāra* or monastery, a rectangular open courtyard, enclosed by a wall of brick ; and, in the centre, a square prayer-hall of stone columns, flanked on three sides of the rectangle by rows of unadorned cells—shrines and dormitories for the resident monks, stores and a refectory.

The *stūpas*,[8] of many sizes[9] from little mounds to the *Mahācetiya*, were nearly all of one essential design—in horizontal section, a wheel (*cakra*) of large uniform



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Fragment of *mithuna*

bricks,[10] with a tyre and diversified spokes[11] radiating from a central hub, square in the smaller and circular in the larger *stūpas* ; the segments of spokes and tyre were filled in with earth to make up, in vertical section, a brick casing of a drum or *vedikā*, covered by an umbrella of a dome (*aṇḍa*) ; at the four cardinal points were projecting rectangular altars, distinctive of the *stūpas* of the Āndhra country ; and, in the more outstanding ones, each altar was adorned by a group of five votive pillars (*āyaka-khaṁbhas*),[12] symbolising the five principal incidents in the life of the Buddha—the Nativity (*Janana*), the Renunciation (*Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*), the Enlightenment (*Samyaksaṁbodhi*) the First Sermon (*Dharma-cakra-pravartana*) and the Death (*Mahāparinirvāṇa*). The dome of the *stūpa* was probably topped by a rectangular coffer (*harmikā*)[13] for precious offerings, and surmounted, in a crowning piece of the architecture, by an honorific parasol or *chatra*, the symbol of sovereignty.

From the absence of any remains, it has been surmised[14] that the railing[15] of the *Mahācetiya*, enclosing the processional path at its base, might have been of carved wood, lost to us by the ravages of time and climate. But, it is difficult to think that the developed architecture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa should have reverted to wood as a decorative medium when, in point of sculptural evolution,[16] stone had long ago supplanted wood. It is more probable that the stone railing (evidenced by socketed pillars from the site), as the outermost member of the *Mahācetiya*, was the first target for iconoclasm or depredation, and has been irrecoverably lost.

The ornamentation of the *stūpa* was in stone and stucco ; the sculptured stone encased the brick-work, firmly fixed to it in mortar, from the plinth to the springing of the dome ; above this line, all decoration was in stucco, as the stone could not be moulded to the curvature of the dome. This supremely glyptic stone of greenish grey (which also composed the famous carvings at Amarāvati) was quarried from Dachepalli[17] in the vicinity and transported to Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the river to a stone-wharf,[18] the remains of which still exist. The stone was of exquisite texture, capable of rendering the delicate inflexions of life and movement, as well as the patterns of intricate decorative forms. The sculpturing was in bas-relief, on the several parts of the architecture, on uprights and pillars, beams and cornices, sometimes in synoptic[19] panels of illustration, of incidents from the life of the Buddha or renderings of his previous births or *Jātakas*,[20] drawn from a plenitude of Buddhist literary sources[21]—the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*,[22] the *Nidānakathā*,[23] Buddhaghoṣa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[24] and his celebrated commentaries on the *Dhaṁmapada*,[25] the *Mahāvastu*,[26] the *Lalitavistara*,[27] the *Divyāvadāna*,[28] and the *Buddha-carita* and the *Saundarananda-kāvya* of Aśvaghoṣa. The ornamental motifs comprise sheer geometrical designs such as the *svastika* ; the lotus and the acanthus, budded or in bloom ; friezes of geese or *makaras* (crocodiles) ; the *triratna*,[29] the *pūrṇaghaṭa*[30] and the *stūpa* itself, singly or repeated ; rows of processional lions, tigers, elephants, bears, horses, bulls or deer in repetitive assortments, and garland-bearing erotes[31] (*mālāvāhakas*). After the decoration had been done and the joints plastered up, the structure was probably white-washed in its entirety and coloured and gilded.

NOTES

1. Barring a few little shrines in some of the monasteries, which are square in plan.

2. Other than a small opening over the doorway.

3. Called, from its shape, a ' moon-stone '. This architectural piece, with a solitary exception at the University site, is singularly plain at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa ; the exception features a procession of lions, horses and bulls in bas-relief in an outer border.

4. *Dāgaba* from Skrt. *dhātu* (relic) *-garbha* (womb, chamber or receptacle) ; Pāli *dhātugabbho*. Therefore, strictly, a tumulus enshrining a relic, but used synonymously with *stūpa* for any kind of sepulchre.

5. Where the moon-stone at the threshold of the so-called ' Queen's Pavilion ' is well-known. It consists of concentric zones of adornment : of a repetitive motif of lions, elephants, horses and bulls in procession ; then a row of *haṁsas* (swans) arched over a semi-lotus.

6. Necessitated by the portrayal of the several Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna pantheon. The anthropomorphic image of the Buddha was evidently created at the great sculptural centre of Mathurā, in Uttar Pradesh, independently of the coincidental realisation of the icon by the contemporary school of Gandhāra (first to third centuries A.D.), inspired by Greco-Roman prototypes (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 50 f, 59, 60). The art of Amarāvati (which reached its amplitude at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) obviously owed the Buddha image to its introduction from Mathurā.

7. *Saṁma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parigahītasa mahācetiye* (the *Mahācetiya*, protected by the corporeal remains of the supreme Buddha) : Inscriptions B 2, B 4, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 18.

8. Originally a heap or mound, a *stūpa* (synonymous with the word *caitya*) came to connote, in the practice of Buddhism, any funerary memorial to a Buddhist divinity or personage (H. Kern : *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 44). *Stūpas* were *śārīraka* (corporeal) if erected over relics ; *uddeśika*, commemorative of the principal events in the life of the Buddha ; or *paribhogika* when raised over the articles of his use (C. Sivaramamurti : *Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 20). Two types of *stūpas* have been uncovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : a simple one of brick and plaster, and a second, elaborately decorated over its every part.

9. Ranging in diameter from twenty feet in the smallest *stūpa* to 106 feet in the *Mahācetiya*.

10. Of 20 × 10 × 3 inches in size, identical with some of the bricks discovered at Bulandibāgh (near Patna), the site of Aśoka's capital of Pāṭaliputra.

11. From the usual four to the ten spokes of a large monastic *caitya*, forty-eight feet in diameter, unearthed by R. Subrahmanyam in Site VI of the present series of excavations.

12. The precise meaning of *āyaka* is unsettled. J. Burgess renders the expression as ' gate ' or ' entrance ' (*The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeṭa*, pp. 86, 93), but the word for ' gate ' in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (F, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 22) is *dāra* (Skrt. *dvāra*). J. Ph. Vogel (*Ibid.*, p. 2, n), therefore, thinks that the projecting altar of the *stūpa* is indicated by *āyaka*, which is not unlikely, as it is to the altar, on which they stand, that the group of *khaṁbhas* are related. These octagonal pillars, on square bases, opposite the four entrances of the *stūpa*, however, fulfil no architectural purpose, as they do not support any capital or other crowning member, but are merely free-standing columns of symbolic or dedicatory significance.

13. Commonly known as the *tee*, corrupted from the Burmese *hti*.

14. By A. H. Longhurst (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 13, 15, 16) and T. N. Ramachandran (*Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 7).

15. This served to enclose the processional path, encircling the base of the *stūpa*. But no traces of any gateways (*toraṇas*) to the railing exist at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

16. The railings of the contemporary *Mahācaitya* of Amarāvati and of the earlier *stūpas* of Bhārhut (*circa* 125 B.C.) and Sāñcī (first century B.C.), it is well-known, are in stone, which was, however, in literal imitation of the pattern of their earlier timbered constructions. And the coeval rock-cut *caitya*-halls of early Āndhra art, such as Beḍsā, Kondāñe, Nāsik and Kārlī in Bombay State are excavated replicas of preceding buildings in wood.

17. Served by Nadikude railway station on the Guntur-Macherla line.

18. Measuring 250 × 50 × 6 feet along the river front and marked by three rows of stone pillars which evidently supported a customs house.

19. The method of 'continuous narrative', common in early Indian sculpture, by which the successive incidents of a story are carved sequentially in the same panel.

20. A collection of 550 fables, mostly adapted from earlier folklore, which purport to recount the events in the principal earlier incarnations (a reputed 84,000), in animal or human form, of Gautama, before he finally attained Buddhahood on earth by the accumulated merit of his good deeds in former lives.

21. T. N. Ramachandran : *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 7.

22. The most famous of the thirty-four *suttas* (Skrt. *sūtras*) or themes of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, detailing the last days of the Buddha, his passing and cremation.

23. An attempted reconstruction of a comprehensive life of the Buddha from accounts scattered in the three *piṭakas* (baskets) of the Pāli Buddhist canon.

24. A commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

25. The well-known Bible of Buddhism, a superb exposition of its ethical teaching in 423 verses, venerated by millions of the faith for over 2,000 years.

26. A treatise of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* sacred to the Lokottaravādins, a sub-division of the Mahāsaṁghikas, the *Mahāvastu* is really a repertory of many *Jātaka* tales and other Buddhist legends.

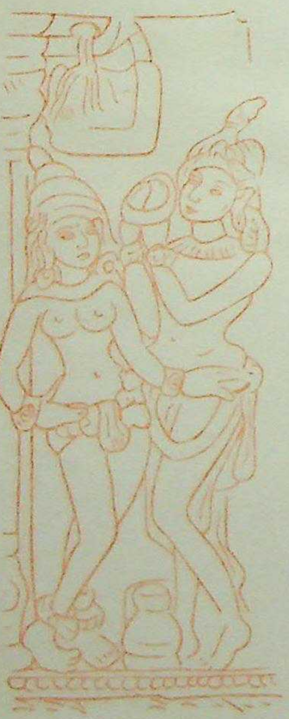
27. One of the earliest and most celebrated Saṁskṛt works of the Mahāyāna school, the *Lalitavistara* is a graceful story of the life of the Buddha.

28. A compilation of Buddhist legends of the Mahāyāna, translated into Chinese in the third century A.D.

29. The trident emblem of the 'three jewels' : the Buddha, the Law and the Order.

30. 'Vase of plenty', also called *maṅgala-ghaṭa*, an auspicious symbol of abundance.

31. Belonging to the common Indo-Iranian heritage of early Asiatic art, the erotes were, in the sculpture of Amarāvati, an importation from the school of Gandhāra.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : *Mithuna*

THE MONUMENTS

THE monuments of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa disclose structural activity of more than one period : the first was coeval with the fortunes of the Sātavāhana power of the first and second centuries A.D. ; the second, stretching from the middle of the third century, manifestly belonged to the succeeding Ikṣvākus, while there might yet have been a third period, attested by the most recent finds of carved limestone and terracotta, which range right down to the fifth century A.D.[1]

Of the architectural remains, the primal monument is the MAHĀCETIYA[2] " of the Lord, the supreme Buddha ", a veritable *dhātu-garbha* ; the relic,[3] a fragment of bone, was discovered in a tiny gold reliquary, placed amidst flowers of gold in a small silver *stūpa*, which received a further encasement of pottery with votive pearls and garnets and crystals. At its inception, certainly anterior to the Ikṣvāku dynasty at Vijayapuri, the *Mahācetiya* was quite unadorned ; its donative pillars (*āyaka-khaṁbhas*) were, like those of the contemporary *stūpas* of Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeṭa and Ghaṇṭasāla, a very much later embellishment, after Cāṁtisiri's notable reconstruction of the monument.[4]

At the foot of the *Mahācetiya*, opposite its eastern or principal side, is the APARAMAHĀVINASELIYA VIHĀRA, built by Cāṁtisiri[5] for the masters of that sect ; it consists of a *caitya-gṛha* or apsidal shrine, and appertaining it, a stone-pillared hall or *maṇḍapa*, surrounded by a cloister, in rows of nine dormitories, nine feet by seven, on three sides of the open rectangular courtyard of brick which encloses the *vihāra*.

The sister establishment of the BAHUŚRUTĪYA VIHĀRA[6] was erected a little later, some 300 yards to the north-west of the *Mahācetiya* by *Mahādēvī Bhaṭidevā* ;[7] the monastery adjoins a main large *stūpa*, with two apsidal temples, facing each other ; of the *maṇḍapa*, the roofless pillars of limestone, socketed at the top for the lodgment of the beams, are ornamented with semi-circular lotus medallions in the upper and lower portions, square in section, of octagonal shafts. This *vihāra* may prove invaluable as furnishing a missing link in the history of south Indian temple architecture,[8] because the site has yielded, at the four cardinal points, miniature *maṇḍapas* which forecast the entrance-towers (*gopurams*) of the temple that came to be.

On the hillock[9] Siripavata, a little distance to the east of the *Mahācetiya*, is the CULADHAṀMAGIRI [10] VIHĀRA, established by Bodhisiri ; it comprises a *stūpa*, an apsidal temple and cells for monks, without any traces of a pillared hall, however ; on the walls of brick, along their plinth, the simple mouldings are of plaster. In one of the cells of the monastery were discovered numerous lead coins of the Sātavāhanas about the second century A.D., and an earthen die [11] for their manufacture, together with a lump of lead ; other finds include a broken limestone statuette of the Buddha, terracotta figurines and some ornamental pottery. It is on the flooring slabs of this *vihāra* that the famous inscription (F) [12] of Bodhisiri is engraved in a cursive script of great beauty. At the eastern end of Siripavata, on its lower stretch, the SĪHAḶA VIHĀRA was built by an unknown donor for the accommodation of monks from Ceylon ; [13] this establishment is made up of a *śārīraka stūpa* on a rising platform, enclosing the remains, evidently, of some outstanding *ācārya* ; [14] of two barrel-vaulted apsidal shrines, in one of which is an image of the Buddha and a votive *stūpa* in the other ; and, a central hall of stone columns and monastic cells, prefaced by decorative balusters and moon-stones, around an open courtyard. In an adjunct, to the east of the *vihāra*, were discovered, in a second enclosure, a refectory—a stone seat all round a long hall, with a dining table of stone, a kitchen, two store-rooms and a closet, very well preserved.

On the top of a rocky eminence, at the southern limit of the hill of Nāgārjuna,[15] stands the MAHISĀSAKA VIHĀRA,[16] established by *Mahādēvī* Kodabalisiri for the masters of that creed ; of the two monastic *stūpas*, one is ruined utterly, but, a little further up the hill, the other, for all its spoliation, has produced perhaps the finest relics at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, painstakingly insured against decay. For the bone, amidst flowers of gold and beads of coral and pearl, was contained in a beautiful little gold reliquary, shaped like a *stūpa*, a bare one-and-a-half inches high ; this received successive encasements, similarly devised, of tiny caskets, one over another, of silver, copper and glazed pottery, of two and four and six inches high, complete with the *harmikā* and the crowning *chatra*, and ornamented over the dome with a garland device in relief. Such elaborate casings doubtless treasured the relics of a personage of consequence.[17] And the roofless pillared hall of the *vihāra* was flanked around by a row of twenty cells. At the wooded north-eastern extremity of the valley, near the foot of a spur of the Nallamala range, are two hopelessly destroyed *stūpas*,[18] which nevertheless have yielded the most beautiful sculptures of all at Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, engraved in every component part, from the *aṇḍa* to the *āyaka*-cornice stones. Another decorated *stūpa*,[19] less than a half-mile to the south-west of the *Mahācetiya* and away from the monastic sites, is sculptured chiefly in the base of the central pillar of each group of *āyaka-khaṁbhas*, with the *Dharmacakra-pravartana* in bas-relief, but the pieces are sadly damaged. This *stūpa* carried in its gold reliquary, besides the *dhātu* and the offerings of pearl and coral, two little gold medallions, probably used as pendants, with effigies [20] influenced by Roman examples.

But the more notable classical portraiture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa comes from five very fine stone pillars, which, by their distinctively elaborate ornamentation, obviously belonged to a royal palace of Vijayapuri, in the centre of the valley ; these figures are of two bearded sentries (*kañcukins*), in a ‘ Roman ’ helmet and a long quilted tunic and pantaloons, supposed to be Scythian,[21] but very likely copied, like a third figure of Dionysus (portrayed naked to the waist, with a rhyton or drinking-vase in hand), from some classical cameos which the sea-borne trade with Rome had brought to the Ikṣvāku capital.

These monuments were unearthed by A. H. Longhurst (from 1926 to 1931) ; in a resumption of the excavations (from 1938 to 1940), T. N. Ramachandran brought to light what was perhaps the University,[22] at a site by far the largest opened up at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. In the campus is a large principal *stūpa*, about forty-one feet in diameter, with ten-foot long *āyaka-khaṁbhas* projecting from the drum, and adorned by some very intricate carvings of the life of the Buddha ; to the east of the *stūpa* lies the monastic establishment with two apsidal *caityas* facing each other, of which one is merely *uddeśika* ; the other is a barrel-vaulted shrine about thirty-nine feet long, featuring on its threshold a moon-stone, the solitary ornamented find at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, with an eight-inch frieze of animals in parade ;

in this shrine is a limestone statuette of a standing Buddha on a lotus base (*padmāsana*), enshrining, in a socket drilled between the legs, a tiny tube of gold, with numerous pearls and bone-ash ; [23] to the east of this *caitya*, in a cell of the northern wing of a monastery [24] (which is disposed in three flanks of five cells each) was found a *pūrṇaghaṭa* in limestone, carefully sealed to support an honorific *chatra*, and containing two relics of tooth, credited by local tradition (neither proved nor disproved) to belong to *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna ; and in the centre of the courtyard is a *maṇḍapa*, fifty-five feet square, with stone pillars in five bays.

Adjacent to the *vihāra*, to the north, is a large hall, square on the outside but round within, of three chambers, symbolising the Buddhist *triratna ;* abutting the hall on the north is a monastic unit, of which the central hall was walled off, presumably, to serve as a hospital (*vinirgata jvarālaya*) ; [25] and to the east of the *vihāra* is a rectangular courtyard with pillared *maṇḍapas*, from which a passage leads into a closed court of residential cells (judging by their lay-out in a high walled enclosure) for the nuns (*bhikkuṇis*) of the monastery.

In the monastic establishment to the north of the *caityas*, is a small room which has yielded many spouted vessels and terracotta figurines, some with lamps on their heads, and, chiefly, a *kumbha-hārati*, a pot with a row of lamps fixed at its mouth, a device which still survives in Indian ritual. Adjoining this room is the equivalent of a modern school of art, in which numerous stone slabs, in various stages from the incised drawing to the finished sculpture have been located ; among these is a beautiful outline sketch of a *śālabhañjikā*,[26] arm akimbo, very gracefully rendered.

Among the present excavations [27] by R. Subrahmanyam, against their submersion in 1961, the most important is the TEMPLE OF HĀRĪTĪ, [28] the Buddhist mother-goddess, on the slope of a hill away south-east in the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The way to the shrine lies through a large quadrangular stadium of bricks, about fifty-five feet by forty-five, with the circular abacus of a column right in the centre, which might have carried a votive *stūpa*. At the south-western end of the gallery are stone benches for the devotees, and, for the more outstanding broader rows in front than those in the rear for the lesser occupants ; on the benches are engraved sometimes the names of habitual worshippers, or the mark of the bow and arrow, the exclusive imprint of the guild of architects at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, or the arrow of love (*Kāma śara*), or the emblem of the *triratna*.

From this stadium a flight of steps leads up to the temple of Hārītī on the pinnacle of the hill ; in the shrine, flanked by two liberal chambers, is a limestone torso of the seated goddess, some two-and-a-half feet in height, dateable by its features as late as the fifth century A.D., and on a pillar in the shrine an inscription refers to an *akhayanivikā* or perpetual lamp. The goddess was, by leave of the Buddha, worshipped by childless women whose bangle-offerings, in propitiation of the deity, have come out in large quantities in the diggings. The discovery of the temple is of great moment to early Āndhra history, because it fixes, with near certainty, the vexed origin of the Cāḷukya dynasty, described in their inscriptions as *Hārītīputras* (sons of Hārītī), who, allied to the Ikṣvākus by marital ties, were certainly their presumptive successors.

Behind this temple was another shrine of great proportions, a structure in two phases, subsequent to the Ikṣvākus ; the earlier construction was the sanctum of the image, marked by a drain for the outflow of the sacramental (*abhiṣeka*) water ; this early shrine was in later times enlarged into a *maṇḍapa* with steps in front, the image in an orientation eastwards instead of west as before, and a *pradakṣina-patha* round the sanctum, in an outer wall in which were provided niches for the location of the images.

At other sites, exposed by the current excavations, are a monastery,[29] with an open courtyard, described by an inscribed potsherd found in it as *nakatara* (' superior to Heaven ') ; a wheel-shaped *caitya* [30] twenty-seven feet in diameter, with four spokes from a central hub, and seemingly superimposed on an earlier abandoned construction, and, in the vicinity, an inscribed pillar recording the gift by a *śramaṇa* of high descent for all Brāhmaṇas, testifying to a revealing catholicity of religious co-existence ; a monastic establishment,[31] with a large chief *caitya* in the west, made up of chipped stone and rubble, and in the east two votive *stūpas* and a *vihāra*, with wings of four cells, containing many broken statuettes of the Buddha and jars and bowls ; and, adjoining this monastery is a great *caitya*, forty-eight feet in transverse, with the distinctive ten spokes and a complement of *āyaka* platforms.

This, in the main, is the archaeological promise of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, revealed as yet only in a broken arc of its magnificent heritage.

NOTES

1. *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1954-1955, p. 23.
2. *Stūpa* 1 of A. H. Longhurst (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 16 f.).
3. Worshipped today in the Mūlagandhakuṭi *vihāra* at Sārnāth (near Banāras).
4. The significant circumstance, that the inscriptions recording the donations of Cāṁtisiri to the *Mahācetiya* are silent as to its founding, strengthens the likelihood of its antecedent construction, because the records would hardly have omitted to mention an event so momentous if she were herself the foundress. The inscriptions of the contemporary *Mahācetiya* of Amarāvati (and of the earlier *stūpa* at Sāñcī) do not, likewise, advert to the establishment of the *dhātu-garbha*, which, indeed, was hardly necessary, as its origins were doubtless within the common knowledge of the Buddhist world of the day. All these *stūpas*, it must be remembered, were reconstructed after their inception (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 17 f.).
5. In the eighteenth regnal year of Siri-Vīrapurisadata (Inscription E, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 21, 22).
6. Monastery 3 of A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 10, 11.
7. Inscription G, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 23, 24.

8. This is derived basically from the primeval thatched hut of curved bamboo, frequently reproduced in the carvings of Amarāvati, and of which the smallest of the later monolithic Pallava temples of Māmallapuram, the Draupadi *ratha*, is an exact sculptural replica. The pyramidal *śikhara* or tower of the Dravidian shrine itself is an adaptation of the Buddhist *vihāra* in a diminishing succession of storeys, of *maṇḍapas* surrounded by cells for the monks.

9. Known locally as Nallarāḷḷabodu (' the mound of black stones '), and not, as erroneously recorded by A. H. Longhurst, ' Naharāḷḷabodu ' (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 4, 5, 7, 9).

10. The large four-spoked *caitya*, discovered in the very centre of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley (Site V of the present series of excavations), and described as a *Dharmacakra* from its precise geometrical orientation of concentric brick arrangements, stands on a hill which might have been the *Mahā* (Great)-*dhaṁmagiri* as distinguished from the lesser or *Culadhaṁmagiri*. (R. Subrahmanyam : ' Nāgārjunakoṇḍa—its archaeological wealth ', *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir*, 1955, p. 61).

11. Suggesting that the monks minted their own coins.

12. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 22, 23.

13. Between which and the great emporium of Kaṇṭakasela (Ghaṇṭasāla) on the Kṛṣṇa existed a flourishing maritime traffic.

14. The relics, in successive gold and silver encasements, were contained in a distinctive globular pot, marked out from twelve other earthen receptacles, probably enclosing the remains of the principal disciples of the Master. Symbolic of the interment of each was the placing over his grave of his earthly possessions, comprising a water-pot, a food-bowl and a begging-bowl.

15. A large oblique hill of rock at the north-western extremity of the valley, guarding its approaches and overhanging the river.

16. In the eleventh year of the reign of Siri-Bahuvaḷa Cāṁtamūla (Inscription H, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 24, 25). The establishment of a *vihāra* to the orthodox Buddhist sect of Mahiṣāsakas (of the third century A.D.), in the vicinity of a parallel benefaction to the unorthodox Bahuśrutīyas, argues a religious co-existence at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which, if the centre had not declined, might surely have led to a catholic re-orientation of the Buddhist faith.

17. Probably Siri-Vīrapurisadata, from the location of the *stūpa* in proximity to the royal palace.

18. *Stūpas* 2 and 3 of A. H. Longhurst (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 19, 20).

19. *Stūpa* 6 of A. H. Longhurst (*Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22).

20. Of a high-ranking woman in the one and a young man with a classical countenance in the other.

21. By A. H. Longhurst (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 11, 24), who thinks that the sculptures represent members of the Scythian (or Śaka) royal bodyguard, of whom a colony might have existed at Vijayapuri in the second and third centuries A.D. He derives support for his theory from a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 37) which mentions the gift of a *patipada* (Skrt. *pratipāda*) or foot-print slab by Buddhi, the sister of Moda, the Scythian.

22. Site 6 of T. N. Ramachandran (*Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 8 f.).

23. The find may relate to the ceremony of the installation (*pratiṣṭhāpana*) of the image, a ritual which has survived in Hinduism on much the same lines (*Ibid.*, p. 14).

24. In the southern wing of which is a singular sanitary device of a rectangular sloping trough of stone, from which the water flowed out by a subterranean drain to a distance southwards of some twenty-two feet and was emptied into a septic tank, 10 × 8 × 6 feet, of alternating rubble, sand and lime.

25. As R. Subrahmanyam reads the words *vigata jvarālaya* of an unpublished inscription on a pillar *in situ* (' Nāgārjunakoṇḍa—its archaeological wealth ', *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir*, p. 59).

26. The game of breaking the branch of a *śālā*, an Indian timber tree with red flowers (*Vatica robusta*). The mother of the Buddha, Māyādevī, was delivered of the child as she was holding on to a *śāla* branch during her participation in the game in the gardens at Luṁbinī (*Mahāvastu*, II, 18, 19).

27. *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1954-55, pp. 22, 23.

28. Site VII-A, *Ibid.*

29. Site III, *Ibid.*, p. 22.

30. Site V, *Ibid.*, p. 23.

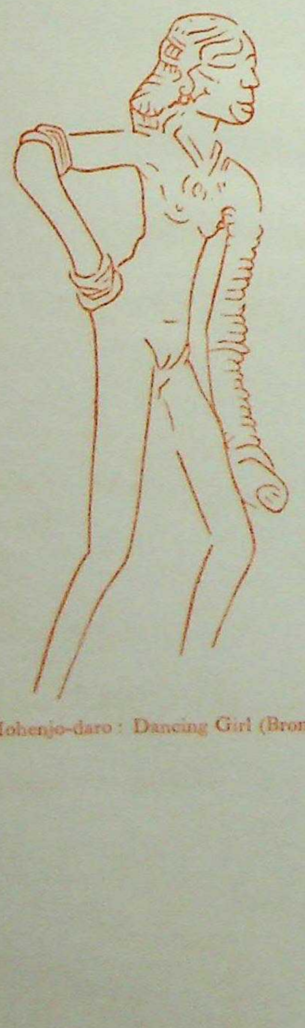
31. Site VI, *Ibid.*, p. 22.

PERSPECTIVE

THE beginnings of Indian art are explicable only on the hypothesis that it was the inheritor, perhaps millenniums before Christ, of a common culture which extended from the Mediterranean to the Indo-Gangetic basin.[1] The civilisation of the Indus valley of 5,000 years ago, discovered as yet inchoately in the three city sites of Harappā,[2] Mohenjo-daro [3] and Chanhu-daro in Sind, was part of this common heritage, but (from the existence of still lower strata) it was certainly indigenous to the locations and by no means provincial to the contemporaneous culture of Mesopotamia.[4] It would be difficult, however, on the present imperfect stratigraphic evidence, to consider the Indus valley itself as the cradle of the cultural movements of the ancient Near East—of Babylon, Sumer and Egypt.[5]

Of the Indus discoveries in unexceptionable [6] archaeological contexts the steatite bust of a bearded priest (?) from Mohenjo-daro is famous, and his trefoil patterned shawl is not improbaby the sartorial ancestor of the Buddhist *saṅghātī* or monastic robe of subsequent times ; another authentic sculpture, also from Mohenjo-daro, of a bronze figurine of a dancing girl, is palpably Dravidian in its attenuated anatomy and the tremulous lower lip. But the finds of greater consequence to later Indian iconography are the so-called seals or amulets of steatite, inscribed with an undeciphered pictographic script and engraved with figures : of a horned deity [7] with a trident forecasting the Buddhist *triratna* ; horned female figures, the forerunners of the *yakṣīs* or fertility spirits of later Buddhist art ; animals, especially bulls [8] of various types, elephants, tigers, buffaloes and crocodiles. And other notable anticipations of Buddhist sculpture in the Indus valley pieces are a cross-legged figure with kneeling devotees and a *nāga*, on a blue faience tablet, and terracotta figurines of a mother-goddess sprung from an autochthonous folklore.

That this culture which came to an end about the middle of the second millennium B.C. did not vanish utterly [9] the recent excavations at Rupar [10] in Ambala district of the Punjab, have more than established, bridging the hiatus of some two thousand years to the historic traditions of the art of the Mauryan



Mohenjo-daro : Dancing Girl (Bronze)

empire. Indeed, the Rupar diggings have revealed an almost continuous sequence of cultures from the limit of the Indus valley civilisation right down to medieval times ; in courses distinctly traceable, the peoples of Harappā are shown to have moved up the basin of the upper Sutlej towards the close of the third millennium B.C. ; then they populated the Bikaner desert along the now dried-up beds of the Sarasvati and Dṛṣadvati rivers, establishing towns and villages in their marches ; about 1500 B.C., however, they were succeeded at Rupar, after a short interregnum, by people of another stock—the intruding Āryans whose origins still remain a mystery.

From their first occupation, except for a break of a century after 700 B.C., the Rupar excavations have traced the Āryans in a continuous course through known history ; in significant strides through civilisation, they mastered its primary technological processes, in iron in addition to bronze ; the so-called punch-marked coins of ancient Indian history, from 2000 to 600 B.C., now begin to appear ; a superbly carved stone disc featuring the goddess of fertility attests the Mauryan epoch, besides figurines of baked clay and stylii ; and, in an unbroken historical succession of finds are terracotta cult images of the *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* of the succeeding Śunga period (*circa* 200 B.C.) ; next, Indo-Greek coins and other mintages of the following Kuṣāna and Gupta dynasties ; a number of clay sealings of the fifth or sixth centuries A.D. ; Gupta terracottas, especially an exquisite piece of a maiden playing the *vīna*,[11] and silver utensils for rituals ; after a short break in chronology, well-built houses of brick of the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D., and, in a final span of habitation of three centuries later, the multi-coloured glazed ware typical of the Muslim period and the characteristic ' lakhauri ' bricks and coins of the Moghul dynasty.

The Dravidians, whom the coursing Āryans vanquished, were evidently an aboriginal people coeval with those of the Indus valley and probably sprung from a common stock, as the survival in Baluchistan today of Brahui, an isolated island of a Dravidian language, would signify. The primal impulses and concepts of early Indian art are clearly due to the Dravidians, including the cults of the mother-goddesses and of many nature spirits, such as the *nāgas* and *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* (elevated to the Buddhist pantheon in an absorption of the popular beliefs) ; the abstract symbolism of the metaphysical Āryans rapidly gave in, by an irony of history, to the anthropomorphic imagery of the primitive Dravidians whose system of worship triumphed over the Āryan sacrifice or *yajña*. To the Dravidians are also due the basic types of Buddhist architecture and, in turn, their further refinements in later Hindu styles ; the barrel-vaulted *caitya*-hall is the distinct offspring of the Dravidian hut of bamboo and thatch ; and so persistent was the impress of this prototype that centuries later, when stone superseded wood as the medium of architecture in the Āndhra *caitya*-halls of Beḍsa[12] and Kārlī[13], even the wooden ribbing was meticulously copied in their domical roofs of stone.

And, the Buddhist *stūpa* itself probably derives from the original Dravidian tumulus, a low circular mound of earth, containing relics and offerings, surrounded by a ring of protective stones ; the sepulchre was chambered in a later day, secured with slabs of granite. From this primordial cairn, the transition to the *stūpa* was achieved in evident stages ; first, the mound of earth received a casing of brick, as at Piprāwā [14] (on the frontier of Nepal) in the Mauryan period, and the ring of stones was replaced by a railing, first of wood and then of stone, with gateways or *toraṇas* [15] at the four cardinal points ; the enclosed passage around the tumulus became a processional path, raised gradually to a platform served by a flight of steps ; then the drum of brick was plastered and ornamented with mouldings of festoons, which, in their origin, were doubtless of fresh flowers ; the rectangular *harmikā*, simulating a wooden coffer, was added later for the receiving of precious offerings ; and, last of all, the emblem of sovereignty, the royal umbrella or *chatra*, singly or in groups, went up in a crowning finial in the time of Aśoka.

In time, the plainer architecture of the early *stūpa* received progressive embellishments of figure sculpture, of guarding leogryphs, votaries and sportive *gaṇas* or dwarfs ; the Buddha, represented heretofore symbolically in the carvings,[16] became the object of worship in human form, and the image was at first located in niches at the base of the *stūpa*, but eventually in a shrine adjoining it. Meanwhile, the *stūpa* itself was in a process of structural evolution ; the circular base became square in plan, the drum was elongated, and the low hemisphere of the age of Aśoka was transformed into a lofty ornamental tower, decorated with mouldings and figures, until at last, towards the decline of Buddhism in India about the seventh century A.D., the *stūpa* had assumed the architectural proportions of the later temple. And when the resurgent Brāhmanism sought to erect temples of its own, it was to the descendants of the master builders of Buddhist architecture that it turned naturally, and the *stūpa*, become in its ultimate phase [17] an exalted structure of brick, square in plan, with a shrine-chamber in front for the reception of the image of the Buddha, was the evident inspiration for the towering temples of the succeeding Hinduism.

If the rock-cut hollow *stūpas* of Mennapuram and Kozhikode (Calicut) in Malabar be excepted, because their Vedic antiquity is open to question,[18] the earliest traditional precursors of the Buddhist *Stūpa* are the enormous mounds at Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh[19] in Bihar, sites perhaps of royal burials. These have yielded gold repoussé figures, nude goddesses with explicit attributes of fecundity matched by pre-Mauryan terracottas of moulded plaques and heads of female divinities, discovered at sites extending from Taxila to Pātaliputra, in the direct lineage of the Indus figurines.

Of the Mauryan epoch itself, only the core of the *Mahācaitya* at Sāñcī survives as a Buddhist foundation ; but the art of Aśoka was manifested rather in the towering, free-standing, monolithic columns of polished sandstone, inscribed with the imperial edicts and supporting a so-called Persepolitan [20] bell (from a supposed Iranian prototype) and mounted by a decorated abacus and a topping finial in the round, of the lion, bull or elephant, singly at first (like the majestic bull from Rāmpurvā in Champaran district of Bihar), but grouped later in an organic structural arrangement. The authentic indigenous sculpture of the Mauryan period is limited to statues in grey sandstone from Patna, Pārkham [21] and Besnagar [22], informed by a massive simplicity of designing ; the colossal sculptures, essays in the affirmation of sheer physical energy, are doubtless descended from the nature spirits of Dravidian ancestry. Among architectural remains of the reign of Aśoka, the most significant are the *caitya*-halls, with carved façades in imitation of Vedic forms, in the Barabar hills near Gayā in Bihar State ; of these, the Sudāma and Lomas Ṛṣi caves (not of the Buddhists but of the Ājīvika sect), exquisitely finished and polished like glass within, feature a circular shrine preceded by a hall of assembly ; this is repeated with structural refinements in the later Buddhist caves of the Sātavāhana period, at Koṇḍvite [23] in Bombay State and, in the largest of all *caitya*-halls, at Guṇṭupalli,[24] at Vidyādharapuram near Vijayawada, and Saṅkaram [25] (Saṅghārāma) in Visakhapatnam district of Āndhra State.

But it is at Bhārhut [26] that the *stūpa* becomes a work of art, its railing engraved in low relief with a conglomerate of geometrical and floral motifs, Dravidian nature spirits (appropriated by the exigencies of Mahāyāna Buddhism), synoptic illustrations of *Jātaka* tales and events from the life of the Buddha. In an ennoblement of the traditional cults of the soil, the art of Bhārhut breathes an acute delight in the joys of nature, its fruit, flowers and foliage, and of the animal world ; but the sculpture, consciously flattened to the matrix of the stone, is conceptual rather than realistic, and the unequal compositions, for all their palpable archaism, achieve a plastic quality.

In the four carved gateways to the *Mahācaitya* at Sāñcī,[27] erected by the Sātavāhanas, the art of Āndhra makes a resplendent entry in a marked sculptural advance ; the relief is deeper than at Bhārhut, the decorative narrative more variegated and invested with greater movement ; the accent is on the whole and not on the parts, and the encyclopaedic pageant of gods and godlings, men and women and animals, assumes an epic grandeur, with a vibrant tautness in the patterning. Roughly contemporary with Sāñcī are the rock-cut *caitya*-halls of the early Āndhra period in western India, reproductions of former constructions in wood—the earliest, at Bhājā [28] and, in its vicinity, at Beḍsā, Kondāñe,[29] Piṭhalkora [30], Ajaṇṭā (Cave X) and Nāsik,[31] and, the largest, at Kārlī, (in which the *stūpa* still preserves its wooden umbrella), besides the *caitya*-halls at the groups of caves at Junnar [32], near Poona, and at Nānāghāṭ [33] where the relief features a famous portrait of a Sātakarṇi. And, about the second century B.C., in the eastern reaches of the Sātavāhana empire, the foundations of the great *stūpas* of Bhaṭṭiprolu, Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeṭa and Ghaṇṭasāla had been laid, studding the Kṛṣṇa valley.

The carvings on the stone balustrade at Bodh Gayā, [34] enclosing the promenade sanctified by the Buddha, are of a style historically intermediate between Bhārhut and the school of Mathurā (first to third centuries A.D.) ; the sculpture, mainly of uprights and railing medallions, comprises many fanciful animal-monsters paralleled in the ancient arts of Iran and Greece, and fine reliefs of the Sun-god Sūrya in a horse-driven chariot and of Indra, god of thunder.

The school of Mathurā, coincident with the great Kuṣāna era of prosperity and florescence in literature, is related stylistically to Bhārhut rather than to

Sāñcī and developed independently of the coterminous but exotic Greco-Buddhist [35] sculpture of Gandhāra, with which it shared a parallel orientation of the image of the Buddha. But the two types are distinct ; the benign and radiant Buddhas of Mathurā, their schematic drapery moulded to the warm, firm flesh, achieve a powerful realisation of life, not attained by the stylised and vapid types of Gandhāra, matching an Apollo head to the deep-pleated togas of the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The portrait sculptures of Mathurā, represented by the well-known torso of " the great King, the King of kings, His Majesty Kaniṣka ", his predecessor Wima Kadphises and the Scythian satrap Caṣṭana, are massive essays in the conveyance of royalty ; they are cast in the expansive volume and heroic mould of the Buddha images, but the costumes, of long tunics and high boots, are typically Central Asian. In a signal innovation, the narrative reliefs of the Mathurā railings, in mottled red sandstone, are serial, in abbreviated sequences of time and place, and no longer synoptic ; the sinuous *yakṣīs* are more voluptuous than ever before in draperies transparent to the point of nudity.

And finally, the school of Amarāvati. In its dominant Indian phase this sculpture spans nearly 500 years from 200 B.C. ; first, the archaic and flattened-out figures [36] from the *stūpas* of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeṭa in the low relief of the contemporaneous Bhārhut tradition ; then, in a second period of the first century A.D., very elaborate casing-slabs to the drums of the *stūpas*, with carvings of the cardinal events from the life of the Buddha, represented symbolically at first but later in human form under the influence of the school of Mathurā ; thirdly, the period of the great railings of Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeṭa and Ghaṇṭasāla (of the second century A.D.), decorated on the outside with exquisite lotuses and garland-bearing erotes from Gandhāra in the copings, and on the inside, facing the devotees as they paced the *pradakṣiṇapatha*, with scenes from the life of the Buddha and *Jātaka* tales in the unique circular medallions and in the copings, a brilliant blend of story-telling, drama and criticism of contemporary social life ; and, finally, the vivid narrative sculpture of the third century A.D., of Gōli and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in the amplitude of the Amarāvati tradition, characterised by a dynamic vitality in the designing and a rare conciseness in iconography.

From the school of Amarāvati are sprung the great sculptural styles of the Pallavas, successors to the Sātavāhanas in the Āndhra territory, and, mediately through the Pallavas at Kāñcī, the architectural refinements of the Colas (*circa* A.D. 850) further south ; in a western extension, the Cāḷukyas (A.D. 500-1100), succeeding to the heritage of Amarāvati at Veṅgī, carried its impulses forward in their structural temples at Bādāmī [37] and Paṭṭadakal,[38] followed by the rich sculptural achievements of their feudatories—the celebrated cave temples of Ellora [39] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (*circa* A.D. 784) ; and it is to Amarāvati that the impulsions of the artistic styles of South-East Asia, of Ceylon, the Indonesian archipelago, Thailand and Indo-China, are manifestly owed. But a discussion of these developments is outside the scope of the present undertaking.

NOTES

1. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 1, 13.

2. Fifteen miles from Montgomery station on the Lahore-Karachi railway.

3. Nine miles east of Dokri railway station in the Larkhana district of Sind.

4. The theory of the Sumerian origin of the Indus culture is based on the discovery of its seals at Mesopotamian sites roughly contemporaneous with the Early Dynastic period of Babylonia (*circa* 2550 B.C.).

5. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1923-24.

6. The two mutilated but sophisticated torsos, of a naked man and a male dancer, found at Harappā are extremely problematic, as their mature and meticulous sculpture suggests a dating, of some 2,500 years later, to the Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra.

7. The prototype of the Hindu god, Śiva ?

8. Probably the iconographic precursors of Nandi, the invariable attribute of Śiva.

9. K. de B. Codrington : 'Sculpture', p. 9, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, edited by Sir Leigh Ashton.

10. Sixty miles north of Ambala in the Punjab. *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1953-54, pp. 6, 7 ; *Ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 9. The southern extension of the culture of Harappā, in a continuous sequence through Saurashtra to Ahmedabad district of Bombay State, has also been distinctly established by the discovery of Indus seals and sealings in the recent excavations at Rangpur in Jhalawar district of Saurashtra and at Lothal, thirty miles away north-east (*Ibid.*, 1953-54, p. 8; 1954-55, pp. 11, 12)

11. A stringed musical instrument.

12. Some six miles east of Bhājā near Malavli station on the Poona-Bombay railway.

13. Four miles from Malavli. The great Kārlī *caitya* (124 × 45 × 45 feet) is of all the monuments of Hīnayāna Buddhism the largest and the most imposing ; its high cylindrical *stūpa* is encircled by two rail courses and the richly carved façade is in two storeys, prefaced by two massive, free-standing columns with lotiform capitals, in an extension of the Mauryan tradition.

14. Nine miles west of the Lumbini garden (Rumini dei) in Nepal, the seat of the Buddha's Nativity ; A. H. Longhurst : *The Story of the Stūpa*, p. 13.

15. Introduced, with other members of Buddhist architecture, into China by the name of *pailoos*, and into Japan, in the seventh century A.D. by way of Korea, and called *toris* (*Ibid.*, p. 17).

16. By the Wheel (*Dharma-cakra*), the *triratna*, the throne (*vajrāsana*), the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*), the *stūpa*, the *chatra* or the footprints (*pādukā*).

17. Exemplified by a structural *caitya* discovered at the famous centre of Buddhist learning at Nālandā in Bihar (A. H. Longhurst : *The Story of the Stūpa*, p. 27).

18. These rock-cut chambered tombs, with a monolithic central pole, are believed by G. Joveau-Dubreuil (*Vedic Antiquities*, figures 3-5) to be translations into stone of Vedic huts in the round, but this dating has been questioned by Hirananda Sastri (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922-23, p. 133).

19. Sixteen miles north of Bettiah station on the Muzaffarpur-Tirhut railway ; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906-7, p. 119 f., plates XXXIX and XL.

20. From its correspondence with the decorative member from the palace columns of Persepolis of the Achaemenid empire (538 to 331 B.C.) of Iran, a borrowing of the motif from the art of Persia has been inferred too readily, but the bell capital was doubtless part of the common artistic

heritage of the cognate cultures of the ancient Near East and of India, including a variety of motifs such as winged lions, centaurs, griffons, tritons, addorsed animals, the tree of life, the palmette, the honey-suckle and the acanthus (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 11, 13, 17).

21. Near Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh.

22. Near Bhīlsā in Madhya Bharat ; ancient Vidiśa.

23. In the island of Salsette, Bombay.

24. An early centre of Buddhism in Kṛṣṇa district, containing rock-cut *vihāras* and monolithic *stūpas* and a circular *caitya*-hall, of which the façade is structurally identical with that of the Lomas Ṛṣi cave in the Barabar hills of Bihar.

25. On two isolated hills to the north of this village, which lies a mile to the east of Anakapalli, are numerous monolithic and structural remains of early Buddhist monuments, including pottery and terracotta seals.

26. Six miles to the north-east of Unchera near Satna railway station on the Jubbulpore-Allahabad section. The retrieved portions of the great railing and the eastern gateway of the Bhārhut *stūpa* are lodged in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

27. In Bhopal State, near Vidiśa, the ancient capital of the Śunga king, Agnimitra (148 B.C.). Of the four *toraṇas*, the southern was probably the earliest, and then successively the northern, eastern (the most notable artistically) and western gateways.

28. Less than a mile from Malavli railway station, the Bhājā *vihāra*, among the earliest of sculptured *caitya*-halls, consists of a barrel-vaulted nave, parted by rows of columns from lesser aisles, ending in a semi-circular apse which contains a rock-cut *stūpa*. The cathedral is remarkable for its unique reliefs (paralleled at Bodh Gayā), of Sūrya borne, with his two wives, in a four-horsed chariot, and a stately Indra, riding his elephant Airāvata.

29. Four miles from Karjat railway station on the Poona-Bombay line.

30. The Buddhist *caityas* and *vihāras* of Piṭhalkora are in a picturesque ravine of the Kannad sub-division of Aurangabad district in Hyderabad State.

31. Of the Buddhist caves of Nasik (the *Nasika* of Ptolemy) in Bombay State, only the *caitya*-hall, with a façade divided horizontally into two storeys and guarded by a *yakṣa*, and the Nahapāna *vihāra* (Cave VIII), with pillars crowned by bell capitals supporting addorsed bulls, belong to early Āndhra art of the first century B.C.

32. Forty-eight miles north of Poona.

33. Seven miles from Junnar. The Nānāghāṭ relief is of the third king of the Āndhra dynasty, Sātakarṇi I, " Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha " and contemporary of Khāravela of Kaliṅga.

34. Or Buddha Gayā, seven miles south of Gayā in Bihar. The towering Mahābodhi temple itself is a Kuṣāna foundation, superseding the simple shrine erected by Aśoka to enclose the *bodhi* tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

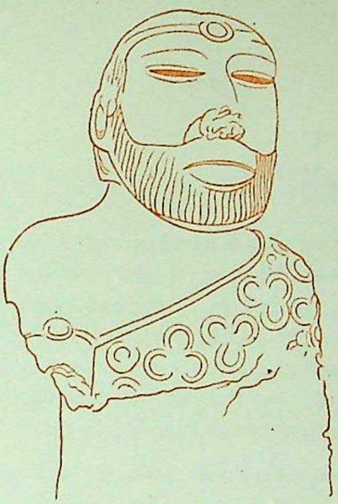
35. But the influences of Gandhāra sculpture are more properly fixed in the art of Rome in its late eastern extension than in Greek art as such.

36. Including a stiff, free-standing figure from Amarāvati and the well-known elegant rendering of *Cakravartin Māndhāta* from Jaggayyapeṭa.

37. Ancient Vātāpi, capital of the Cāḷukyan Pulakeśin I (A.D. 550-66), on the Hotgi-Gadag railway in Bijapur district of Bombay State.

38. Ten miles north-east of Bādāmī. The great temples of Paṭṭadakal, of Virūpākṣa and Saṅgameśvara (*circa* 735 A.D.), are manifestly influenced by the Pallava architectural tradition, but the contemporary shrine of Pāpanātha marks the dawning union of the southern and northern styles, the Dravidian and the Āryan.

39. Nineteen miles from Aurangabad in Hyderabad State. The climax of Ellora sculpture, the stupendous Kailāsa temple (*circa* A.D. 728), is essentially a duplicate of the shrines of Paṭṭadākal, fashioned by the same tradition of Pallava craftsmanship enlisted by the conquering Cāḷukyas.



Mohenjo-daro: Bearded Priest

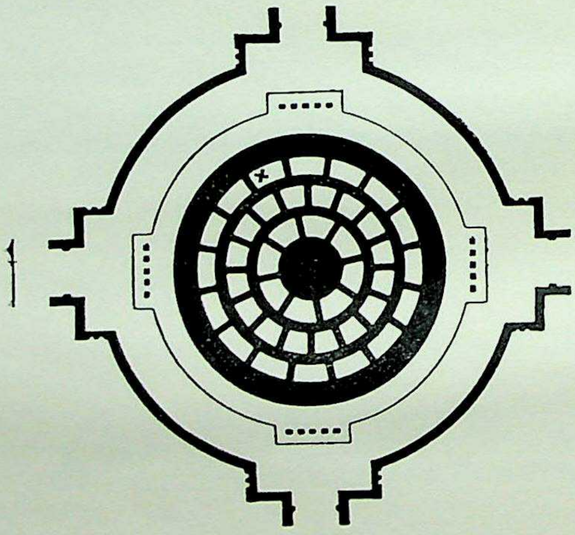
PLATES

PLATE I

Mahācetiya

The *Mahācetiya*, with a diameter of 106 feet, probably rose to a sheer eighty feet to the finial ; a path seven feet wide encircles the base of the drum, five feet in height and reached by a flight of steps on the south ; projecting from the drum, at the four cardinal points, are *āyaka* platforms, twenty-two feet by five ; and a *pradakṣinapatha*, of some thirteen feet, separated the *stūpa* from a railing, of which only the brick foundations exist.

In the plan below the cross marks the find spot of the relics of the Buddha.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: Plan of *Mahācetiya*

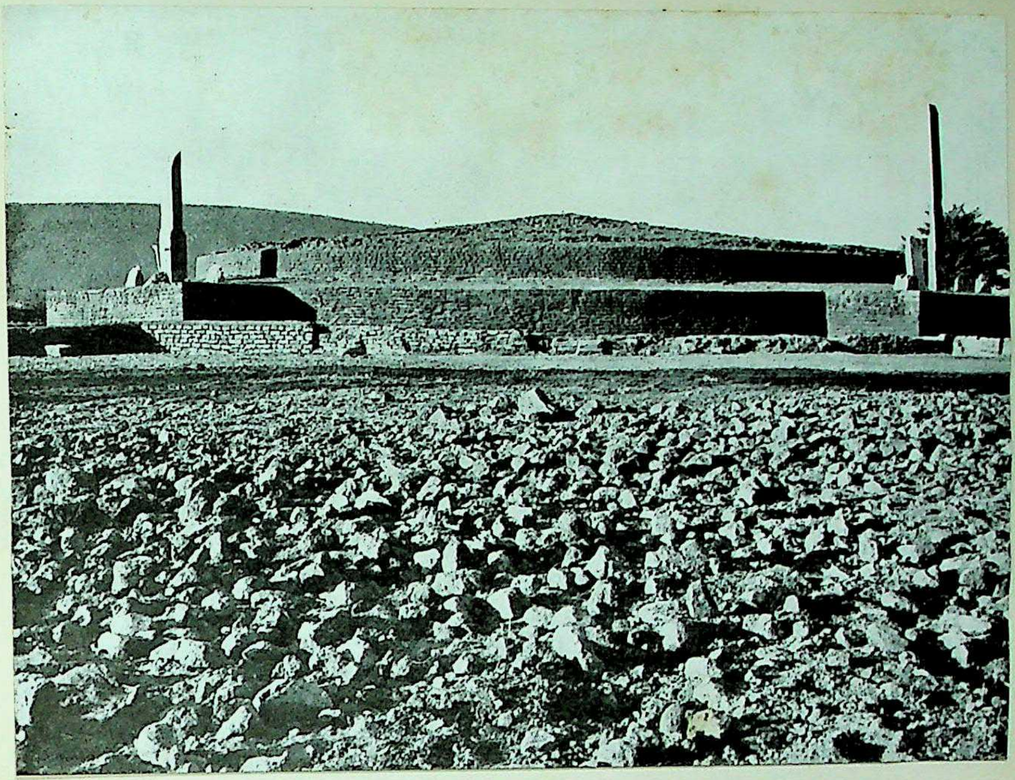


PLATE II

Caitya Slab

Early Āndhra *Stūpa*

This *caitya* slab portrays an early *stūpa*, a simple structure encircled over the dome by a festoon ornament ; the drum is enclosed by a railing featuring scenes from the *Jātakas*, and floral medallions; from the projecting altar the *āyaka* pillars, with rounded tops, tower in a group of five ; on the top of the dome is a heavy-lidded *harmikā*, surmounted by a conglomerate of *chatras*. Flanking the dome, two flying angels bring garland offerings, and below them stand two human worshippers on either side of the decorative relief (below the railing) unconnected with the *stūpa* above it. Its panels are of the Buddha still represented symbolically, left to right, by the Bodhi tree and thrones with a flaming *triratna* and the ' wheel of the Law '.

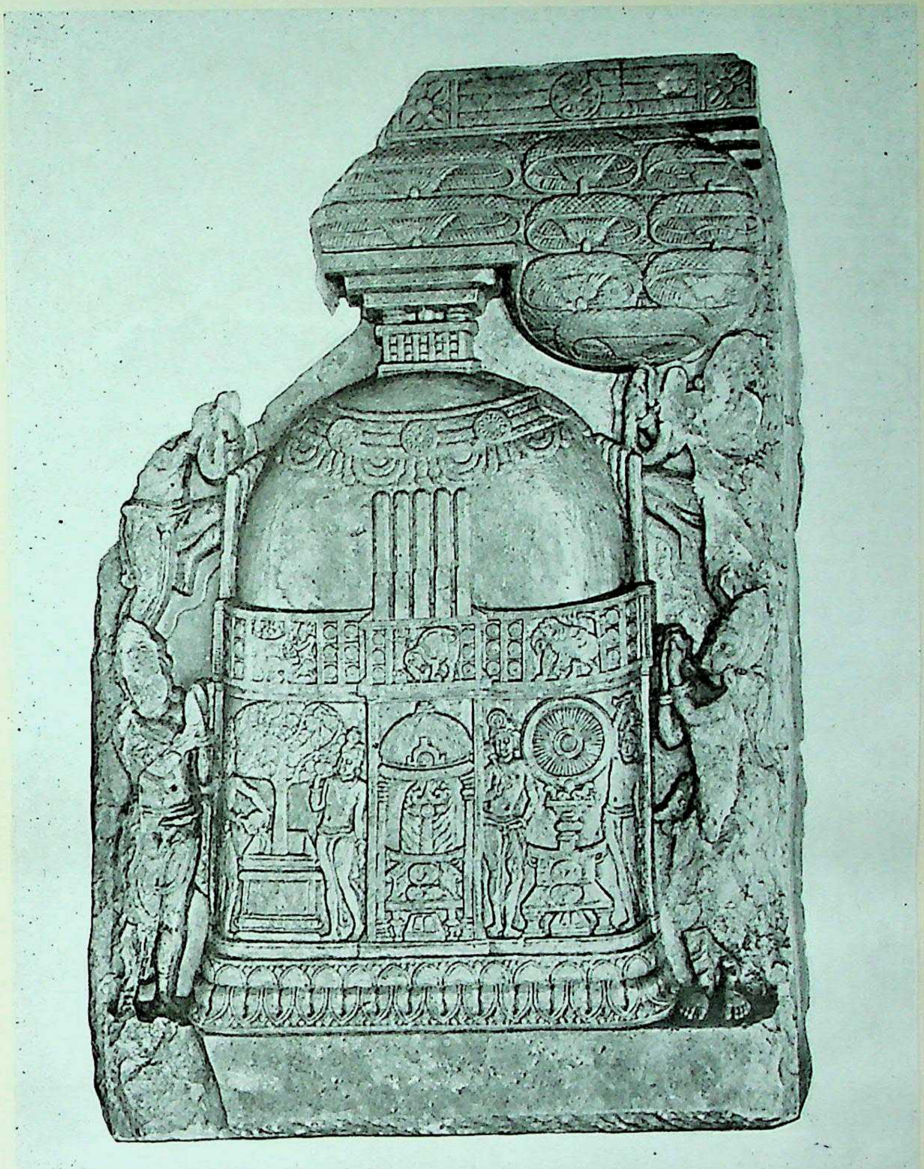


PLATE III

Caitya Slab

Droṇa Dividing the Buddha's Relics

The *stūpa* is carried to a further stage in its progressive sculptural ornamentation, with guarding lions at the base and friezes and panels all over the dome, but the Buddha continues to be represented symbolically by the *cakra*. In its lower part, the relief depicts the Brāhmaṇa, Droṇa, dividing the relics of the Buddha among the clans competing for their possession (H. Kern : *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 45, 46). The figures, no longer flattened, are cut deep and stand out from the matrix of the stone ; in the foreground, on either side of the gateway of the *stūpa*, indicative of its importance, are two lofty pillars, topped by Buddhist symbols.

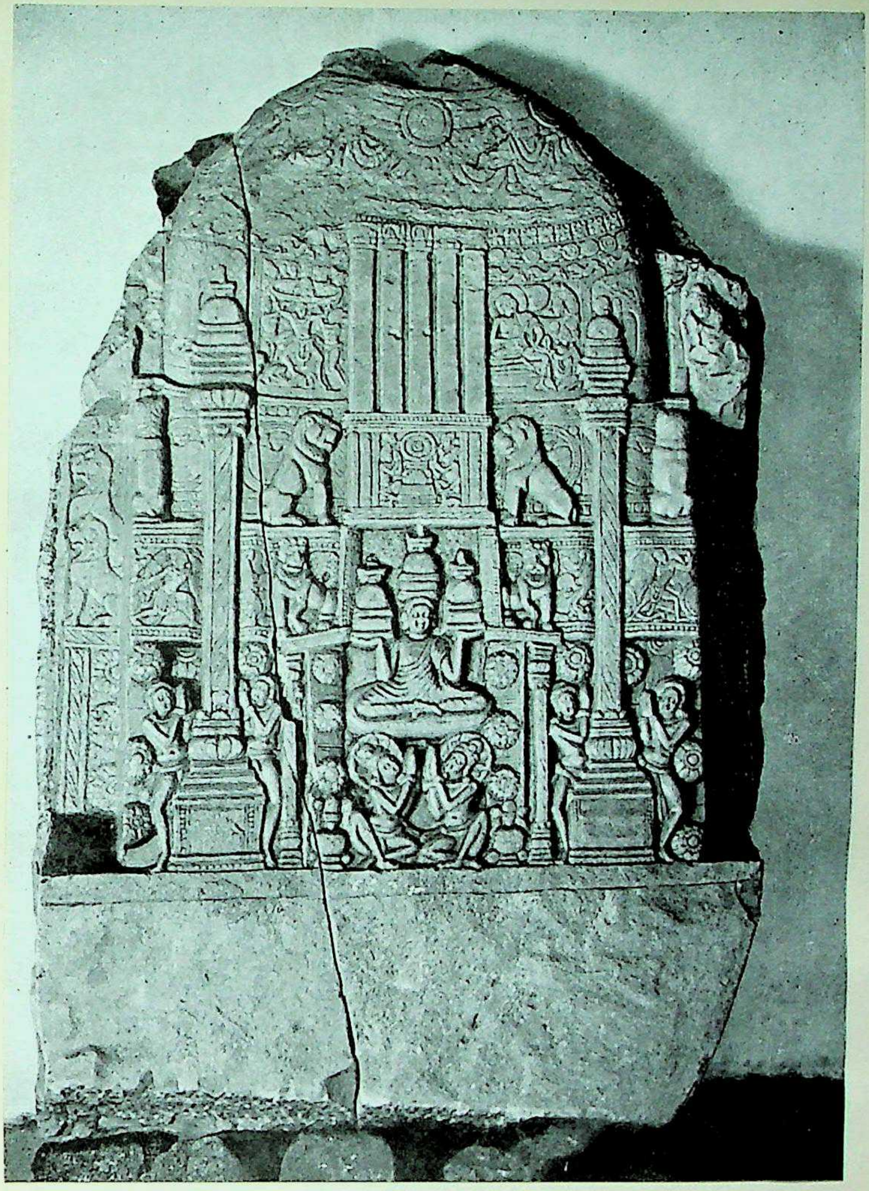


PLATE IV

Caitya Slab

Decorated Āndhra *Stūpa*

Here, marking a signal revolution in iconography prompted by the school of Mathurā, the Buddha appears in human form, the panelling is more ornate and the groups of worshippers richer and more variegated than ever before, with a litheness in their designing.

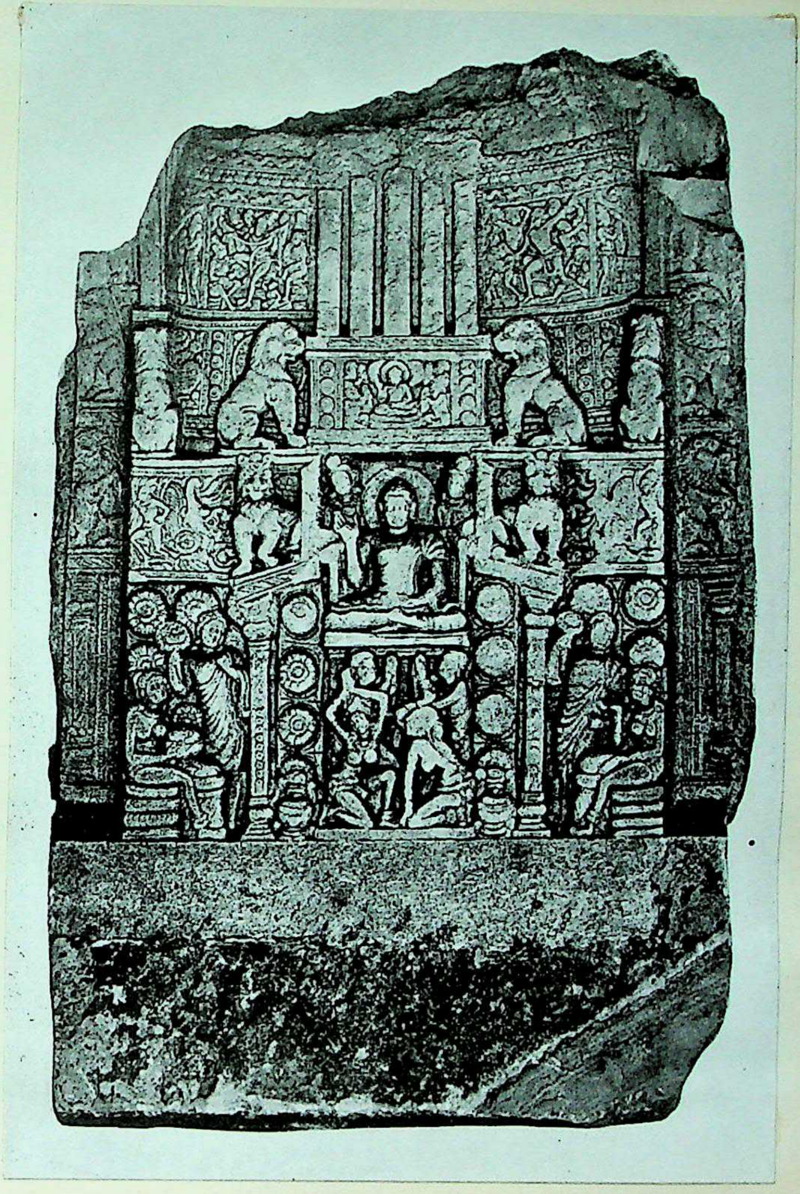


PLATE V

Caitya Slab

Dharmacakra-pravartana

The exquisite quality of the stone imparts a plastic fullness to this beautiful relief of the Buddha in the Deer Park* near Banāras, delivering his first sermon, or in the technical phrase of the Buddhists, in *Dharmacakra-pravartana*, 'the turning of the wheel of the Law'. Above this relief the representation of the *stūpa* is damaged irretrievably.

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* Indicated by the deer at the base of the seat of the Buddha.

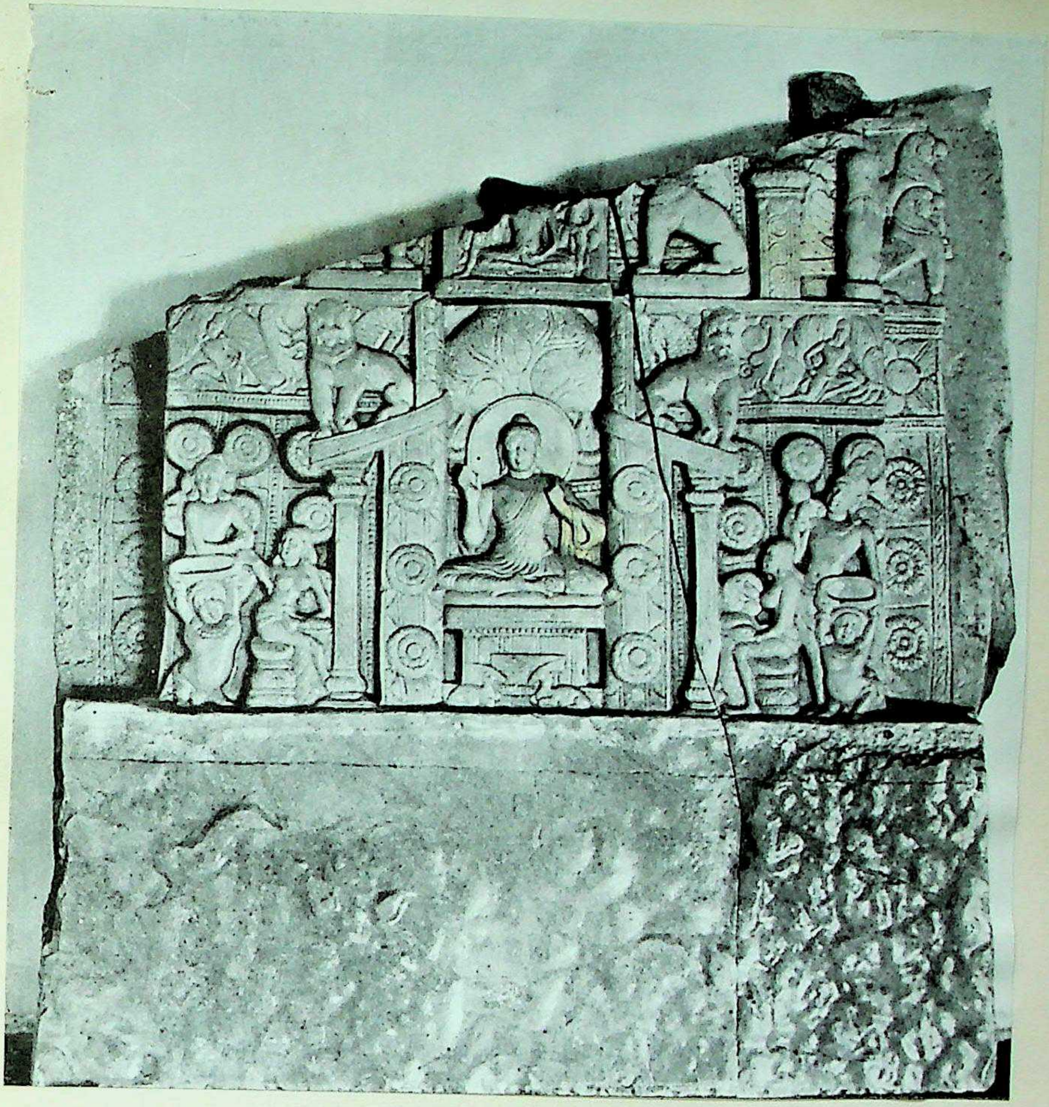


PLATE VI

Caitya Slab

The Buddha's Descent from the Tuṣita Heaven

This deep-cut relief of the Buddha descending from the Tuṣita heaven (where he had been born in the last of his previous existences), with Vajrapāṇi, the bearer of the thunder-bolt, by his side, is, of all the *caitya* slabs recovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the most superbly carved, with a sense of artistry transcending similar reliefs at Amarāvati. The mutilated slab preserves, in its upper part, only the sitting lions at the sculptured altar-piece.

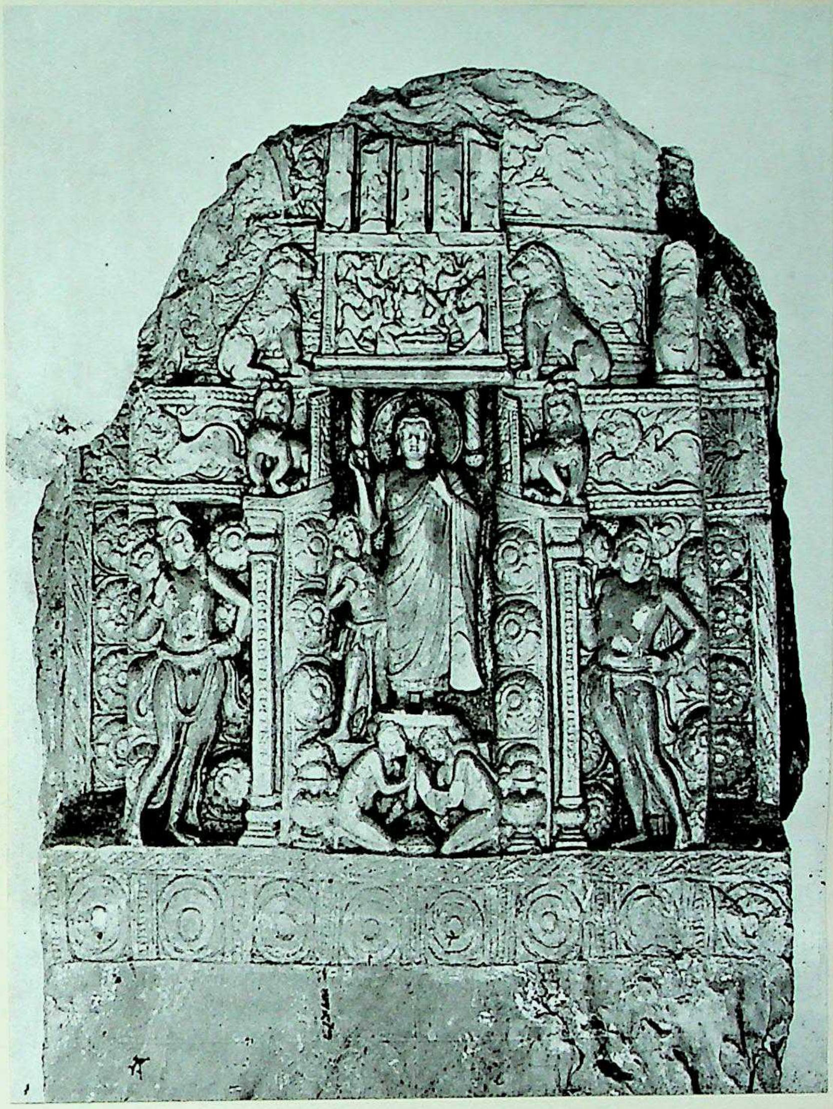


PLATE VII

Caitya Slab

Fully Decorated *Stūpa*

The embellishment of the *stūpa*, on every part from the drum and the railing to the summit of the dome, attains a sculptural fullness ; the central altar-front, decorated usually with a portrait of the Buddha or some vital event in his life, carries a panel of the worship of the Bodhi tree ; and the *āyaka* pillars (of a type not encountered in the excavations) support capitals of Buddhist emblems, a towering *stūpa* in the centre and the *triśūla* (trident) in the remaining four. The standing Buddha, in the lower part of the slab, is purely decorative, separate from the *stūpa* depicted above it.

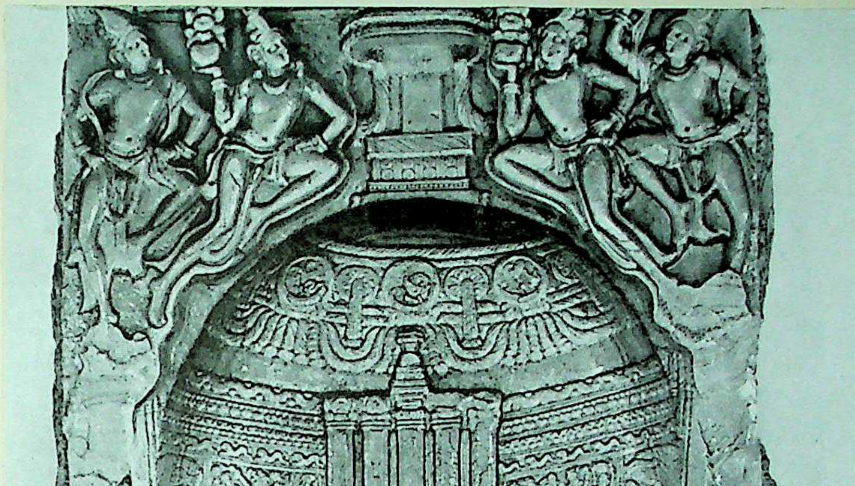


PLATE VIII

Caitya Slab

The *Stūpa*, Final Stage

In its ultimate phase, the *stūpa* is profusely decorated from its base to the crowning-*chatra*, on either side of which the grouped worshippers attain a culminating elegance. The slab, in its lower part, centres a seated Buddha, canopied by a multi-headed *nāga* and flanked by devotees rendered with delicacy.

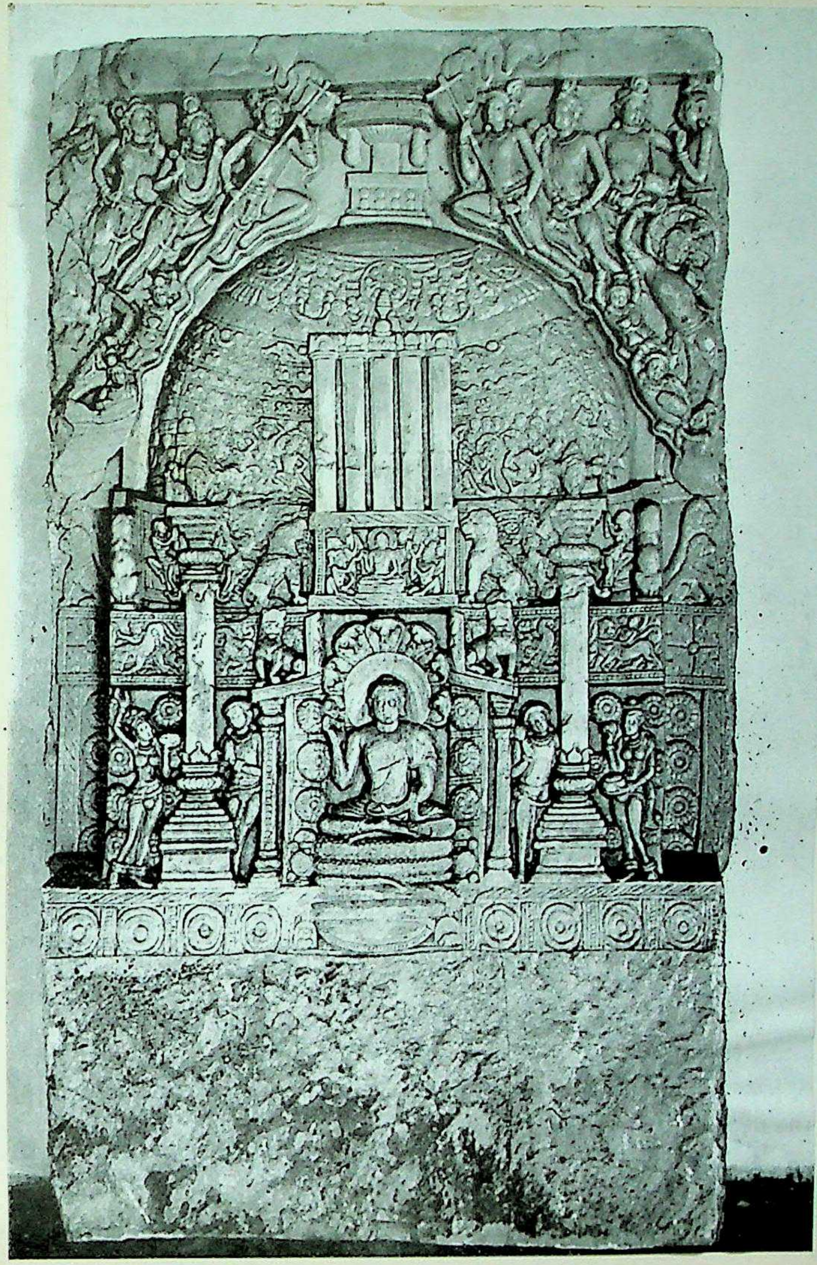


PLATE IX

Caitya Slab

Siddhārtha Renounces His Jewels

The 'Great Renunciation' (*Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*) made, Siddhārtha rides forth at night, a host of gods attending him, to the river Anoma. There he bids his groom Caṇḍaka :

> "Lead back my horse and take my crest-pearl here,
> My princely robes, which henceforth stead me not,
> My jewelled sword-belt and my sword".
> (Edwin Arnold : *The Light of Asia,* Book the Fourth).

The kneeling groom receives his heavy trust, while the courser Kaṇṭhaka looks disconsolate ; to the right of Siddhārtha is the angel Ghaṭīkāra, disguised as a hunter, with the garments he exchanged with the prince ; and, above, the adoring gods are ready to transport his head-dress to Heaven.

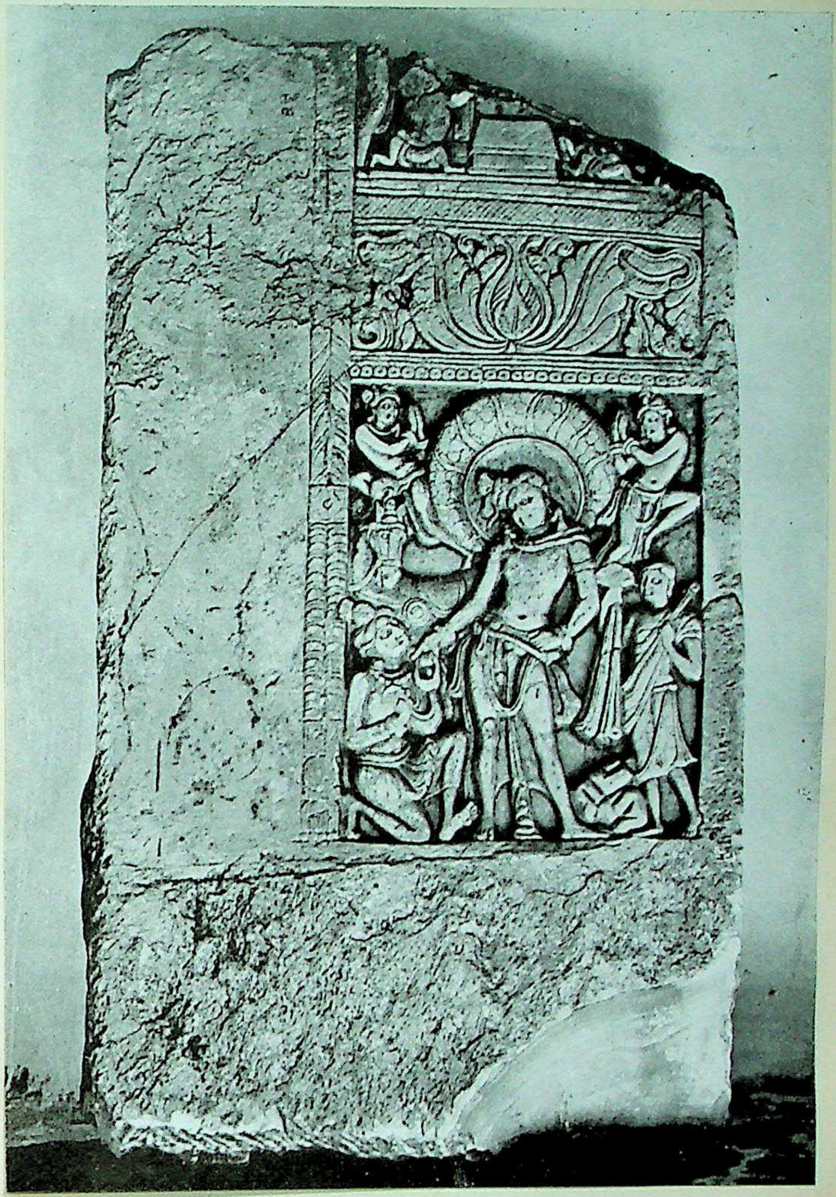


PLATE X

Torso of the Buddha

By the apparent consonance of the drapery, in its design of incised lines and overlapping ridges, this torso echoes the Buddhist *saṅghāṭī* of the Gandhāra school ; but the lines of the statue are organised into a schematic rhythm, attuned to the movement of the body beneath—a refinement to which the mechanical Kuṣāna Bodhisattvas did not attain. The heavy, billowing fold at the bottom of the *saṅghāṭī* is a feature distinctive of the Buddhas of the school of Amarāvati, meticulously reproduced in the bronze Buddha from Dong-duong in Campā.

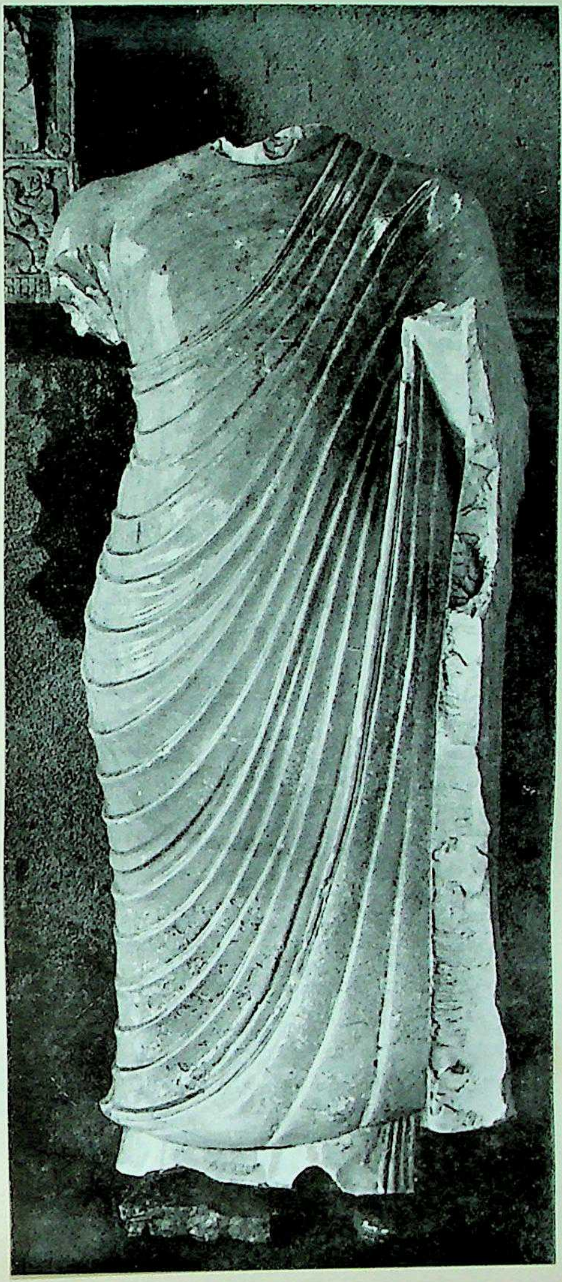
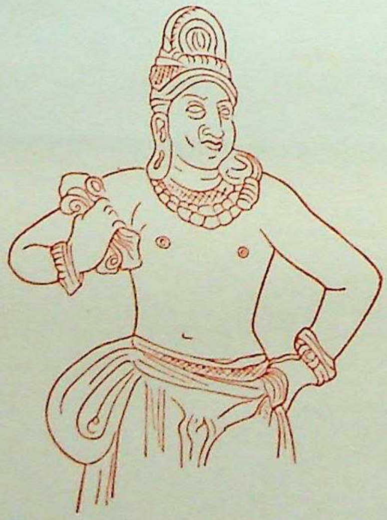


PLATE XI

Fragment

Nāgarāja

This statue, imposing even in its mutilated state, is that of a Nāgarāja, attested by the cobra-hood ; aslant the majestic torso, the *yajñopavīta* or sacred thread reaches to the girdle in a decisive sweep ; the right hand holds aloft a lotus balancing the left akimbo.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Unidentified sculpture

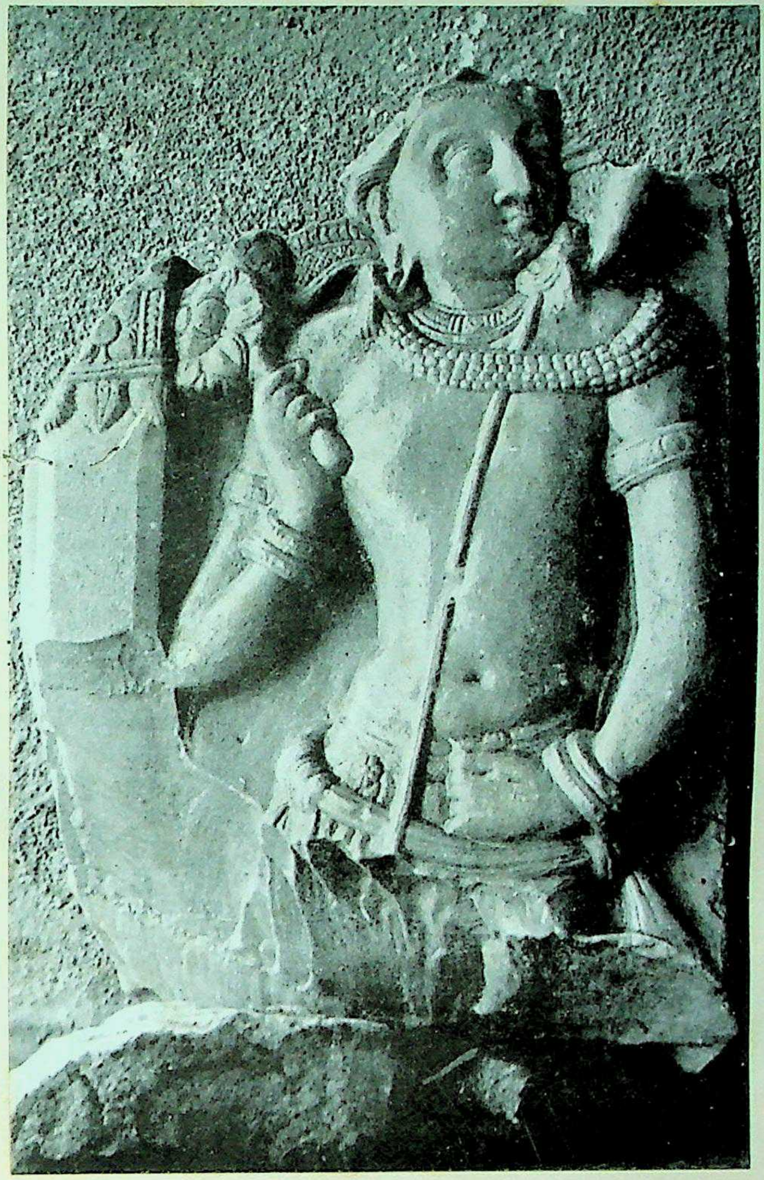


PLATE XII

Āyaka Slab

The Gods Exhort the Buddha to Proclaim the *Dharma*

Attaining enlightenment, the Buddha fasted for forty-nine days, debating with himself if it might not be utterly futile to try and make known to others the profound truths which he himself had realised ; then the gods, led by Indra, (by his cylindrical head-gear) came and entreated the Buddha, for pity of mankind, to go forth and proclaim the *Dharma* to the world (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 28, 29). This was the *adhyeṣana*, depicted here with a richness of floral motif and decorative sculpture, climaxed in the central figure of the enlightened Buddha.

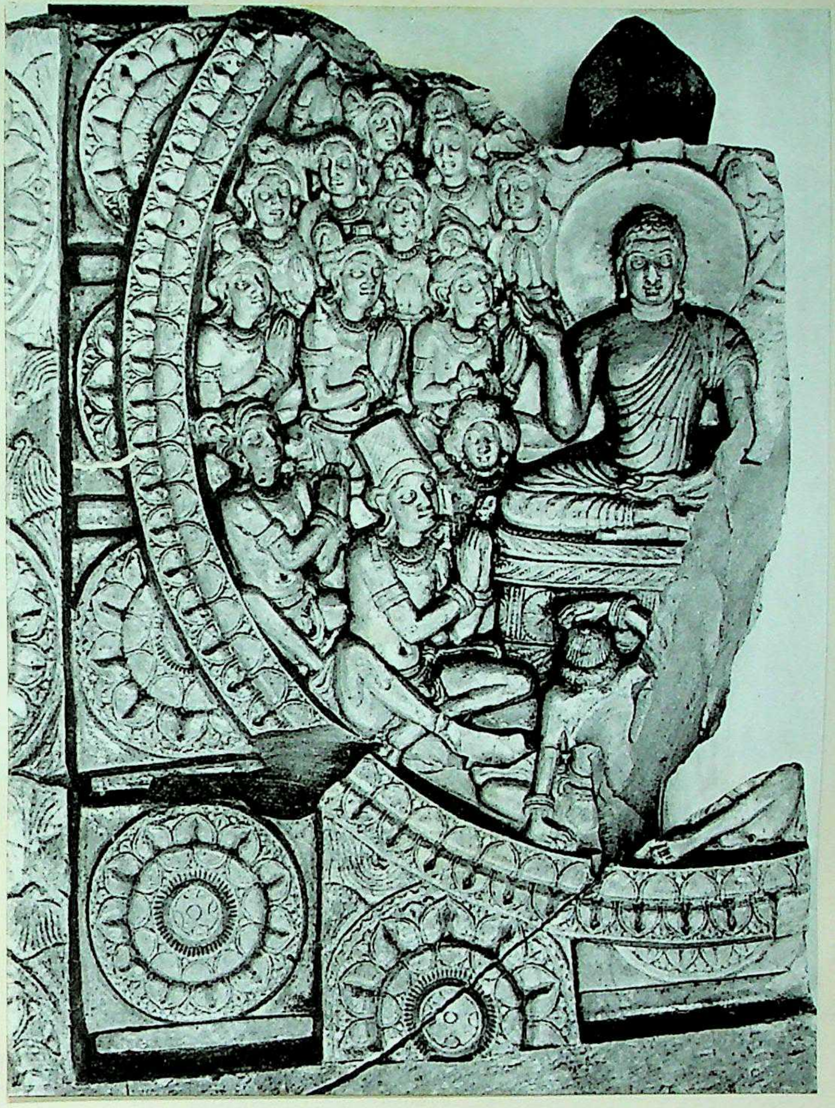


PLATE XIII

Āyaka Slab

Transportation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven

This pulsating sculpture is paralleled in its composition of dancing gods and goddesses, clustering around a transporting central figure, by a well-known relief of the translation of the alms-bowl of the Buddha to Heaven in a railing medallion of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, but the subject of carriage in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculpture is unfortunately lost. In the dynamic patterning of its crowded pageant and in the communication of rhythmic movement, this relief is the undoubted precursor of the famous open-air rock-cut composition of Māmallapuram, ' The Penance of Arjuna '.

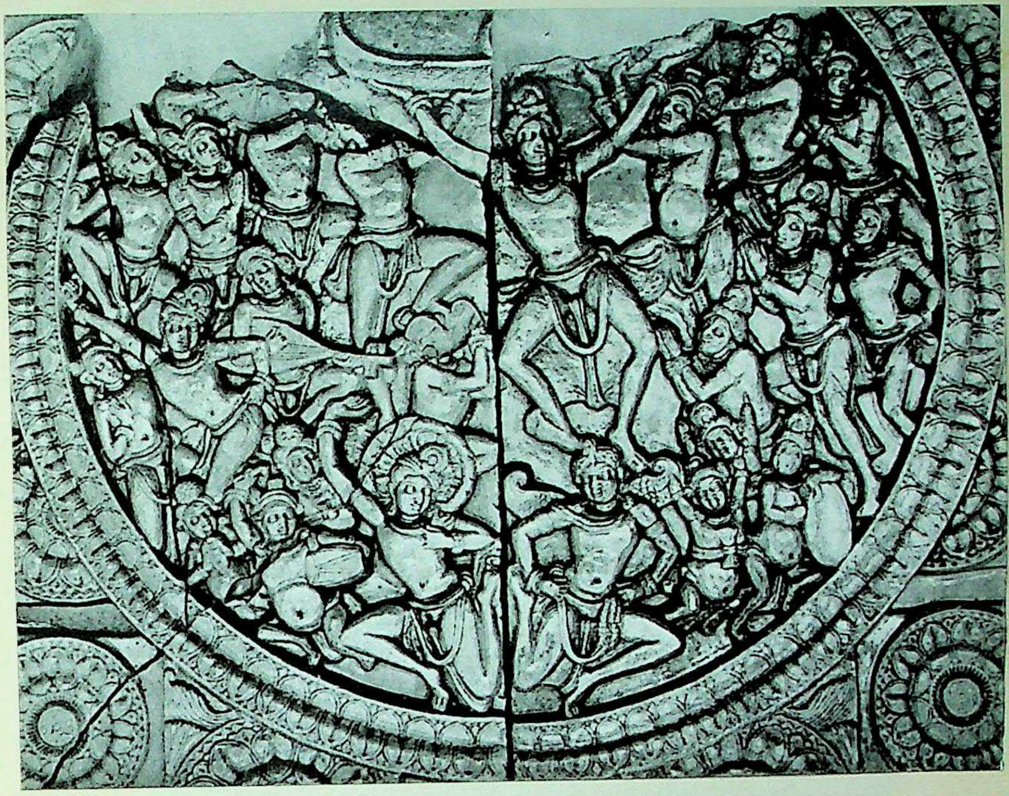


PLATE XV

Āyaka Cornice-stone

The Buddha Protected by the *Nāga,* Mucalinda

The meticulous relief probably is of the protection of the Buddha, from a great storm which raged at Gayā in the fifth week of his enlightenment, by the *nāga* king, Mucalinda (with a suggestion of the lake he lived in by the wavy lines over the hood) to the great amazement of the inhabitants next door (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 28, 32, 62).

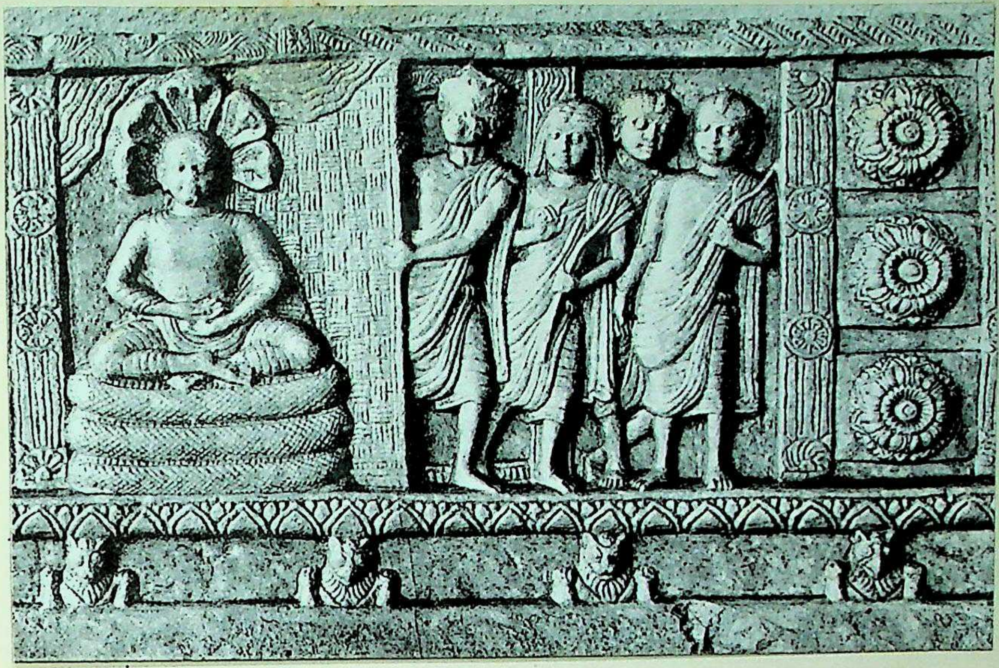


PLATE XVI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Māndhāta Causing a Shower of Gold

The panel is one of eighteen at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa devoted to the main episodes of the popular Māndhātu *Jātaka*—the story, with a moral, of the rocketing rise to partnership of the heaven of the thirty-three (*trayastriṁśa*) gods and the abysmal fall to earth, due to overweening pride and avarice, of *cakravartin* Māndhāta. He is seen here in the boastful act of causing a shower of gold, surrounded by the seven jewels of sovereignty—the wheel, the elephant, the steed, the pearl, the wife, the general and the minister (T. N. Ramachandran : *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, p. 32).

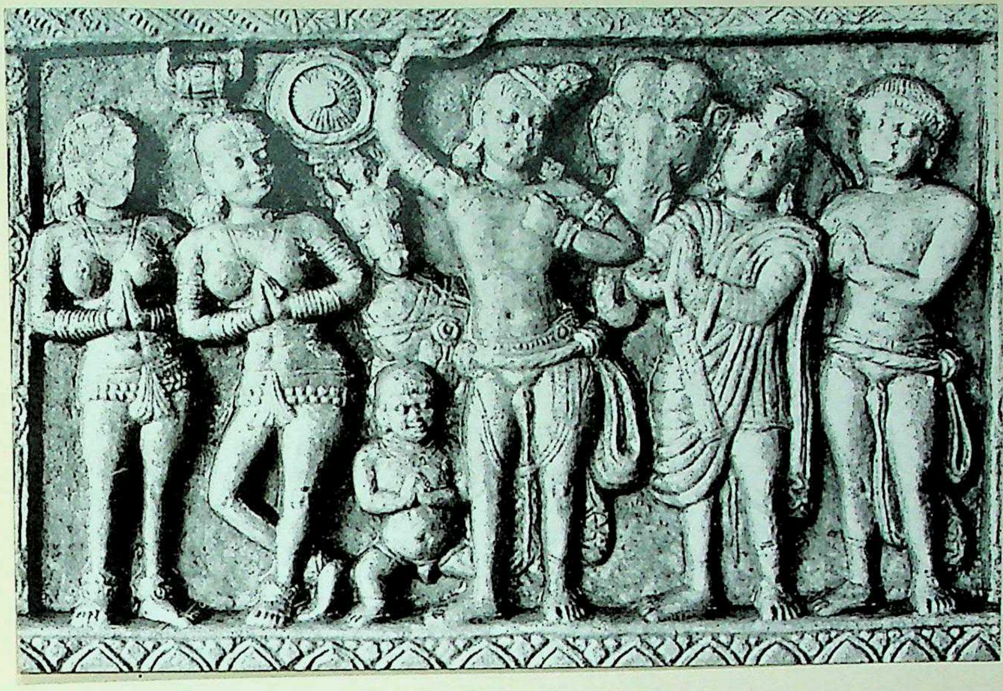
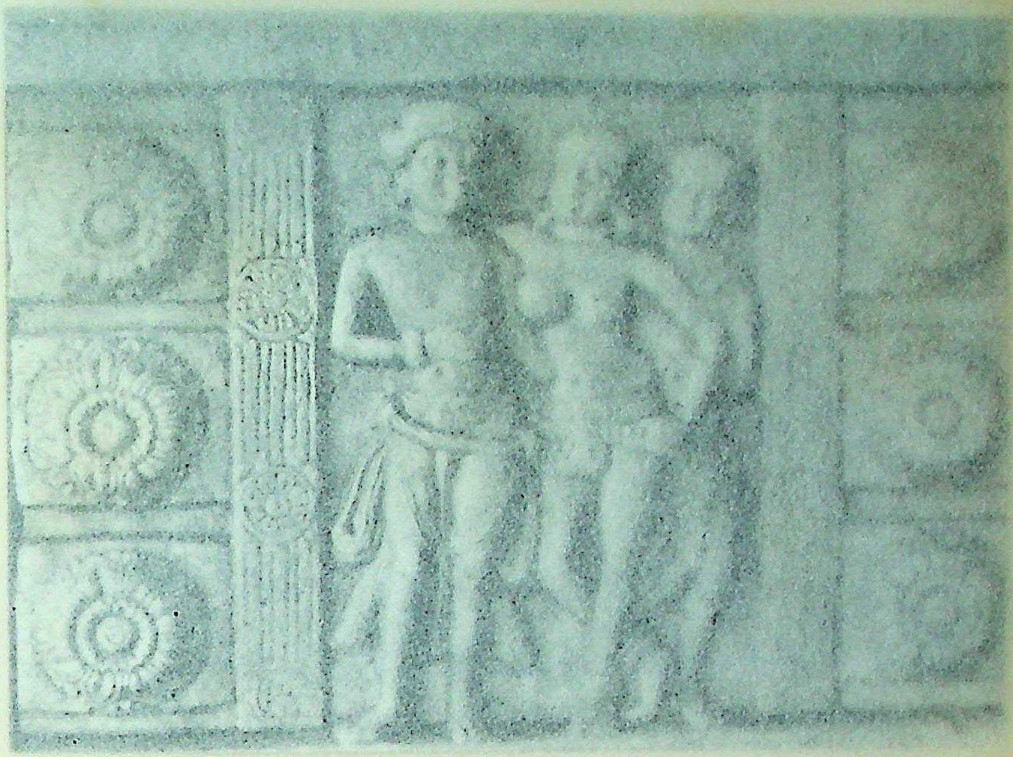


PLATE XVII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The *mithuna* or men and women in erotic embrace, originating in agricultural fertility rites and symbolising in their rapture the ultimate union of the soul with the divine, is a recurrent motif in Indian art, designed not as a secular foil to the religious sculpture but rather as an integral part of it. The *mithunas* of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, not debased into illustrations of the sexual union, are rendered in the subtle inflexions of the amorous approach, with tenderness and naivete, and punctuate the gallery of the reliefs of Buddhist story and event.



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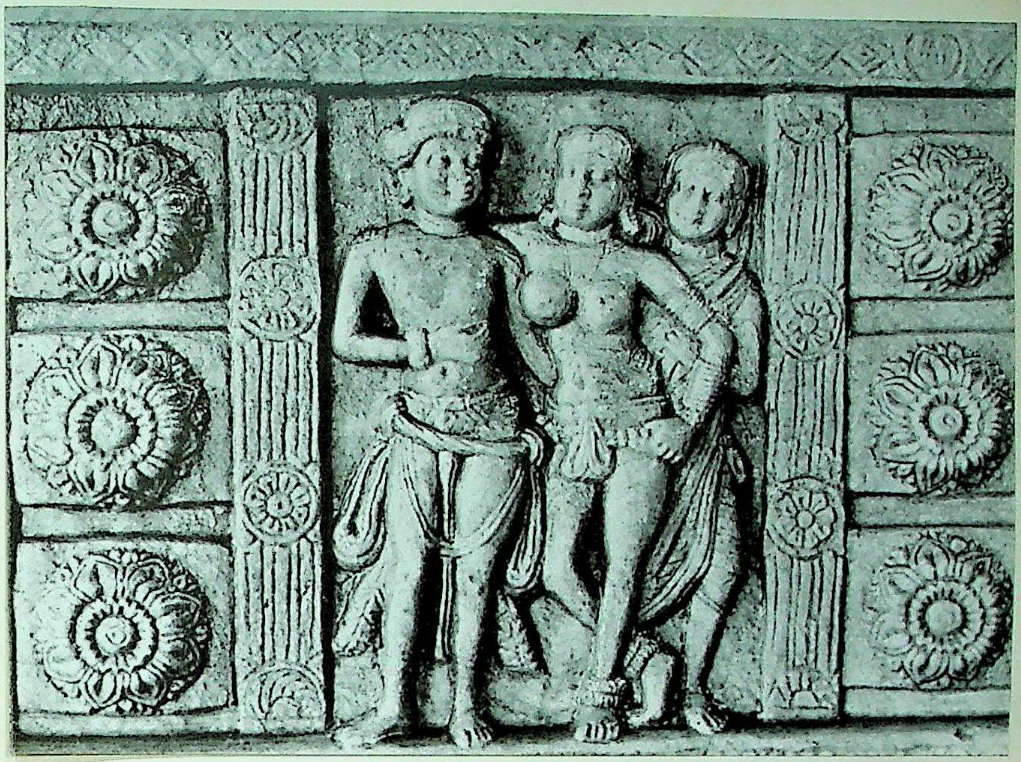
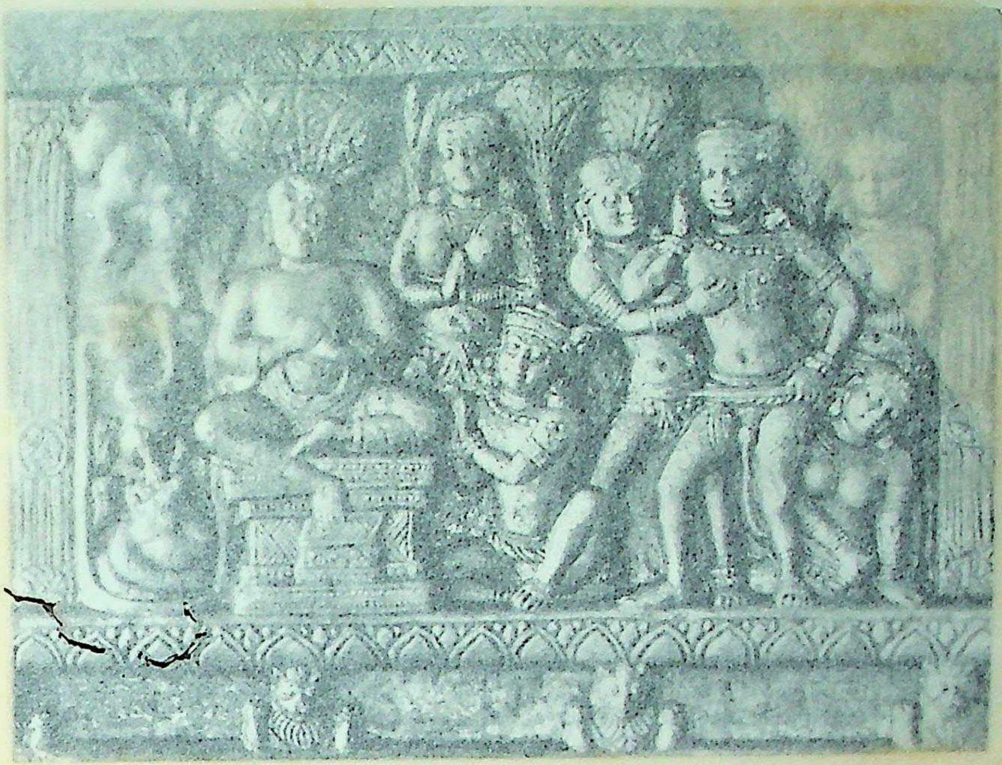


PLATE XVIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Conversion of the *Yakṣa*, Āḷavaka

In this exquisite relief is narrated the conversion to the faith of the cannibal *yakṣa*, Āḷavaka ; seated serenely on a throne in the wilderness (signified by the cluster of trees and goblins to the left) is the preaching Buddha, with adoring figures of the *yakṣa's* household, while the infuriated Āḷavaka, returning home, is restrained by one of his women-folk, of whom two others in quiescent attitudes complete the sculpture (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 32, 58, 59, 60).



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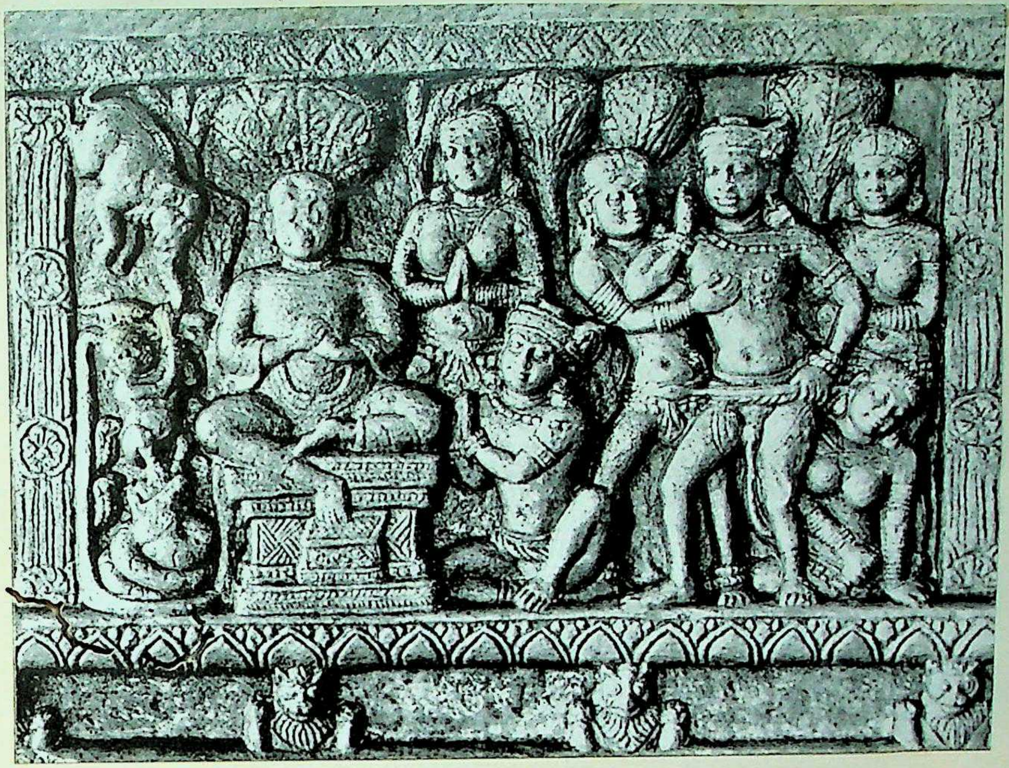
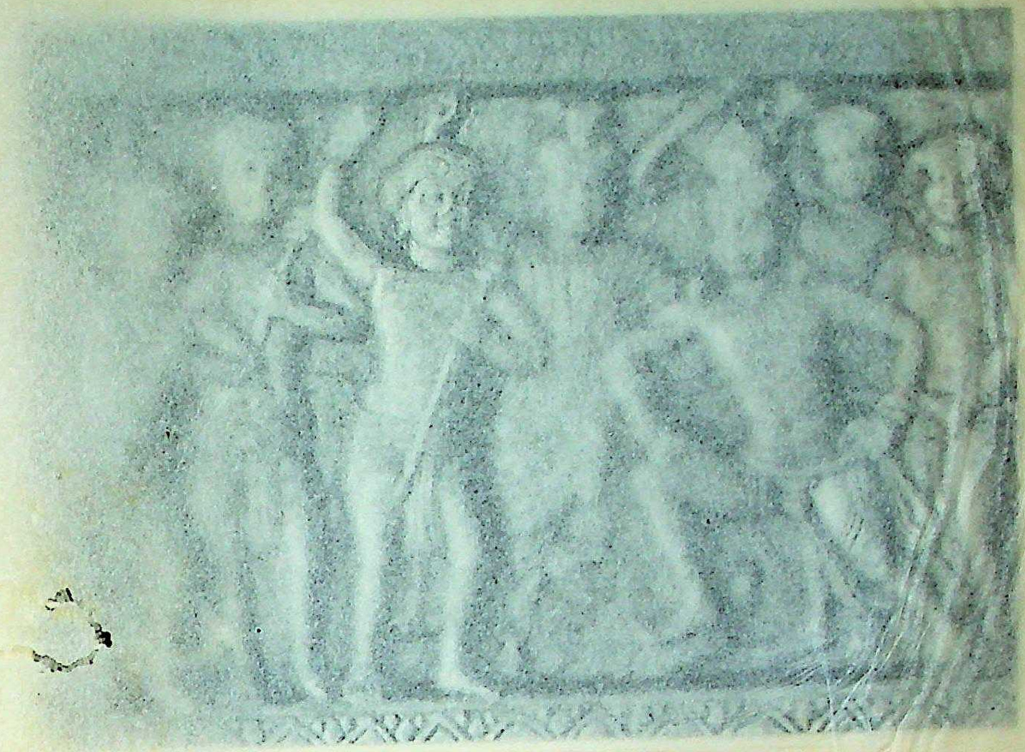


PLATE XIX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Māndhātu *Jātaka*

Māndhāta, with the honorific parasol, is displayed overwhelming one of the aquatic (*udakaniśṛta*) *nāgas* who formed the first of the defences to the *cakravartin's* conquest of the heaven of the thirty-three gods. The hooded *nāga* writhes while the flattering host of the monarch hail its subjugation (T. N. Ramachandran : *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 32, 33).



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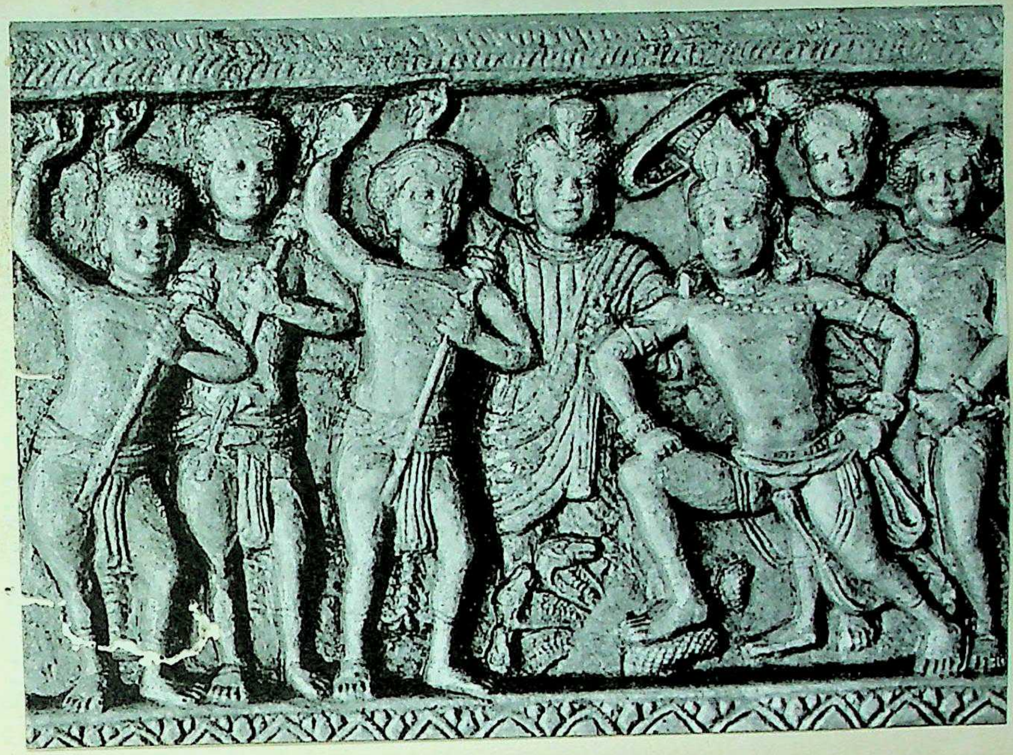

PLATE XX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Māndhātu *Jātaka* (?)

The identification of this sculpture is unsettled ; while it may not improbably be the *cakravartin* Māndhāta (by the context of the panelling) in the privacy of his guarded harem, A. H. Longhurst (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 31) reads it doubtfully to represent Siddhārtha in the palace before his *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa.*

The reliefs on the *āyaka* cornice-stone (of a grained variety different from the rest), concluding with this plate, are distinguished by a stockiness in the figures and an excessive attention to textural detail, and evidently belong to the same group of sculptors.

PLATE XX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

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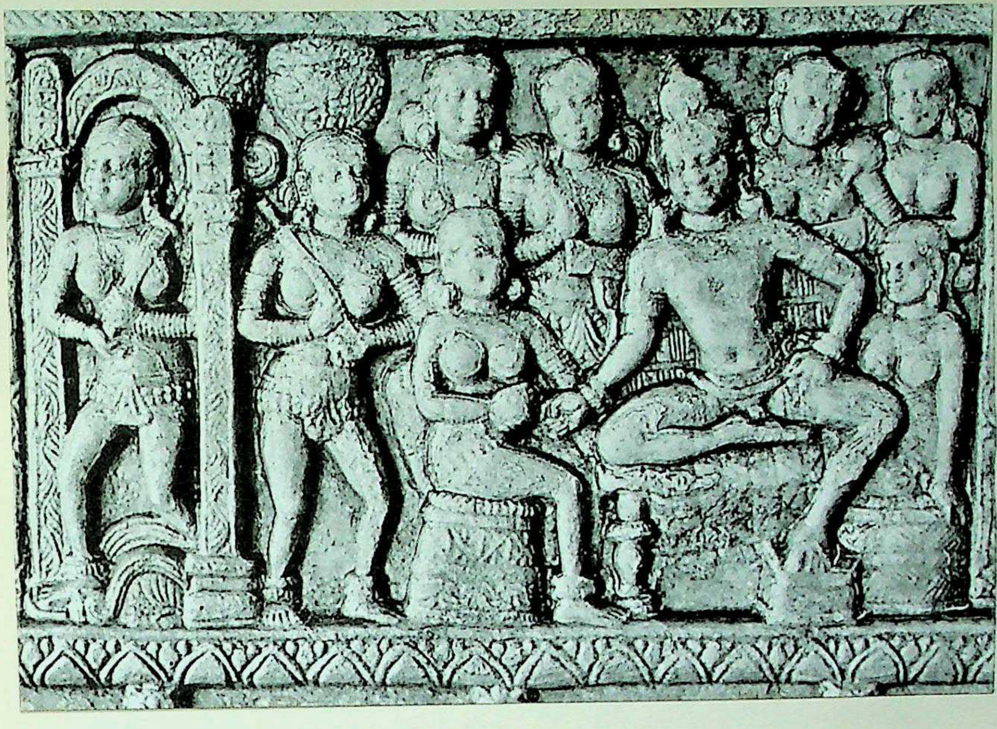
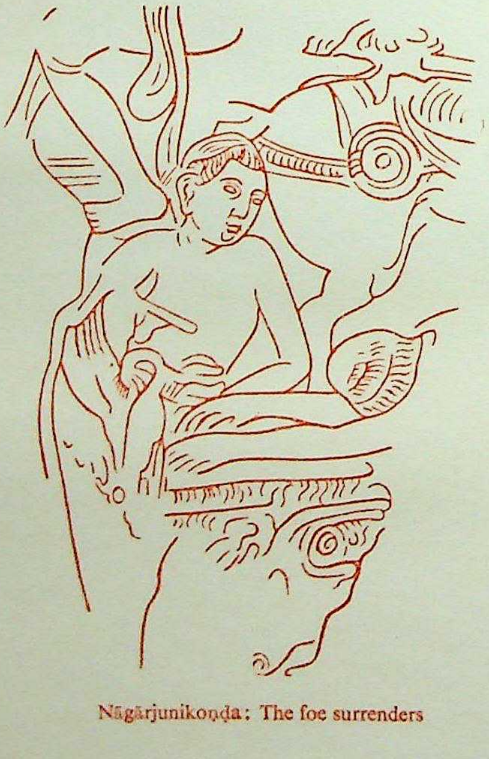


PLATE XXI

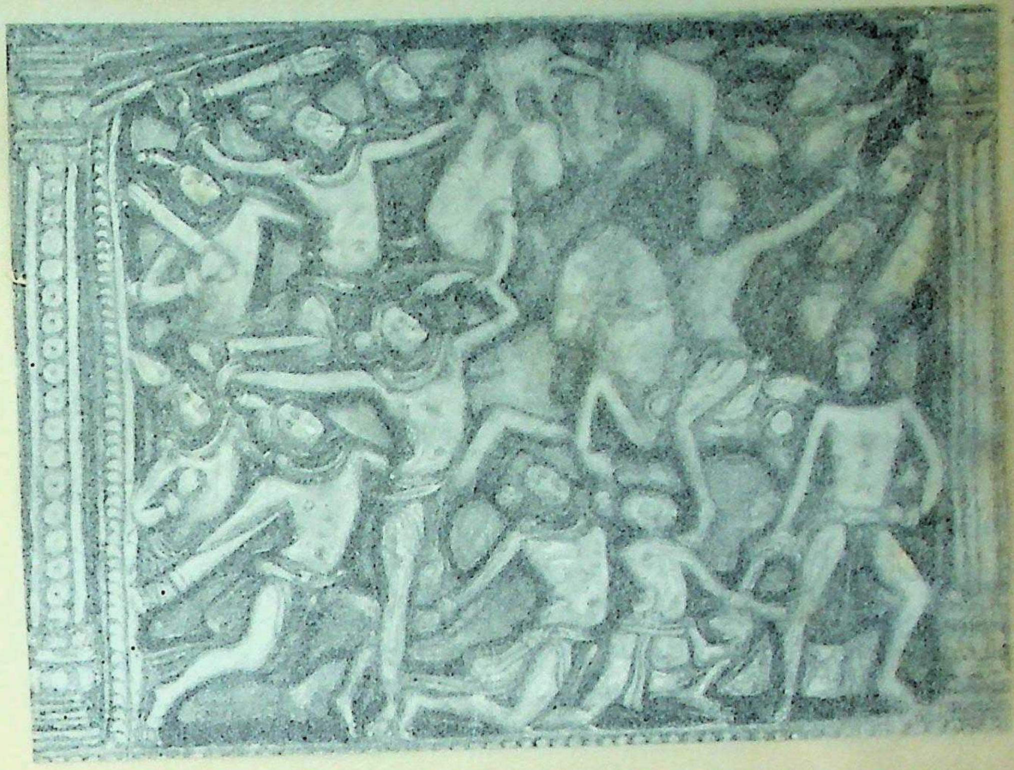
Āyaka Cornice-stone

War Scene

The tumult of a scene of war is strikingly realised in the intensity of its attacking figures ; a study in violent action, the piece is informed by a certain grace in the massed combatants and in the charging animals.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : The foe surrenders



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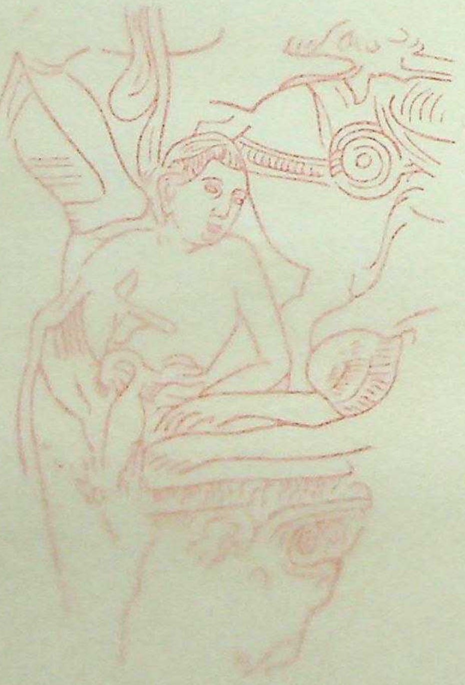

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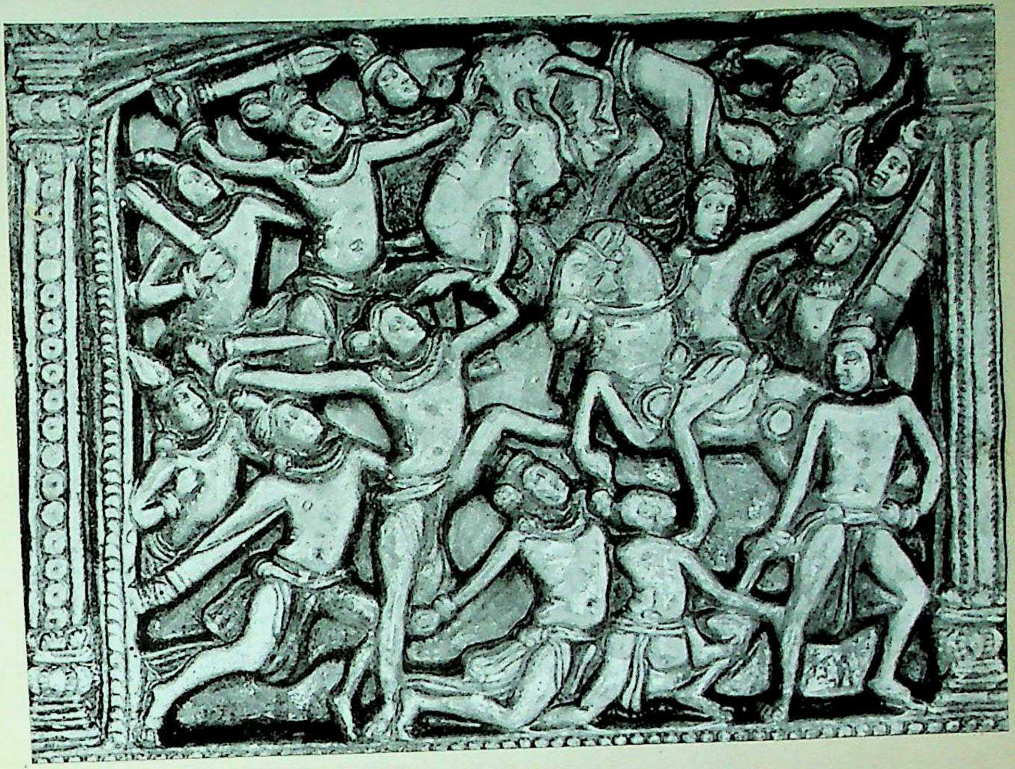
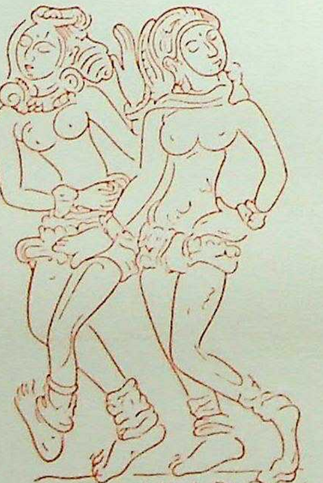


PLATE XXII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The lover caresses the tresses of his sweetheart.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: *Mithuna*

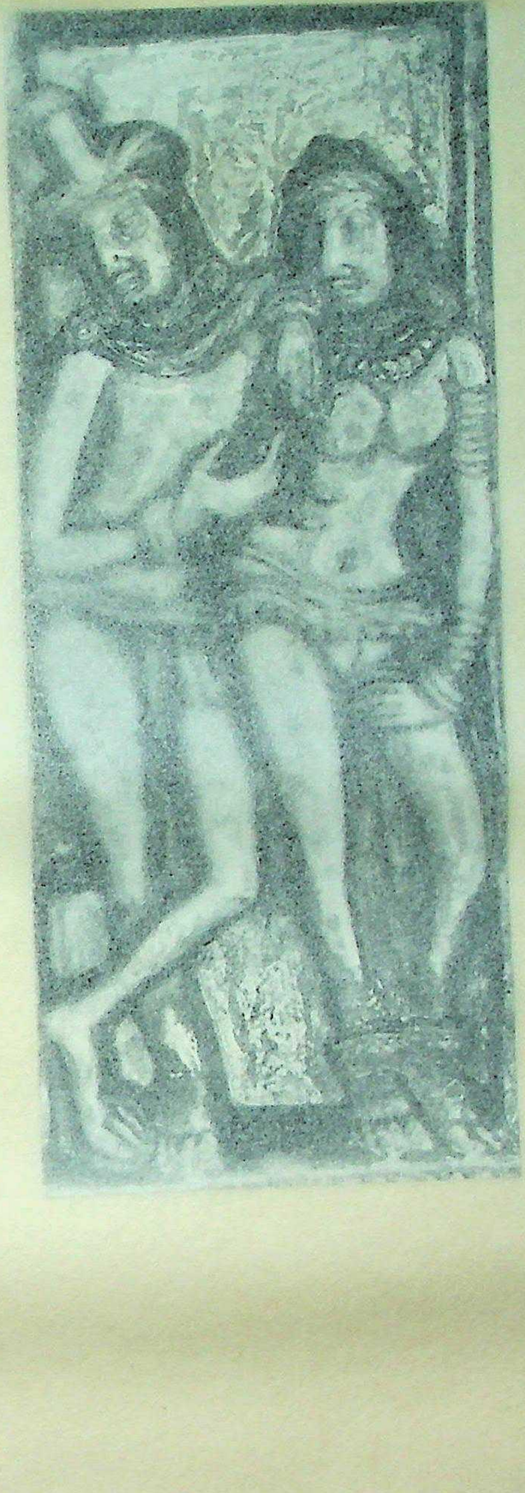


PLATE XXII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The lover caresses the tresses of his sweetheart.

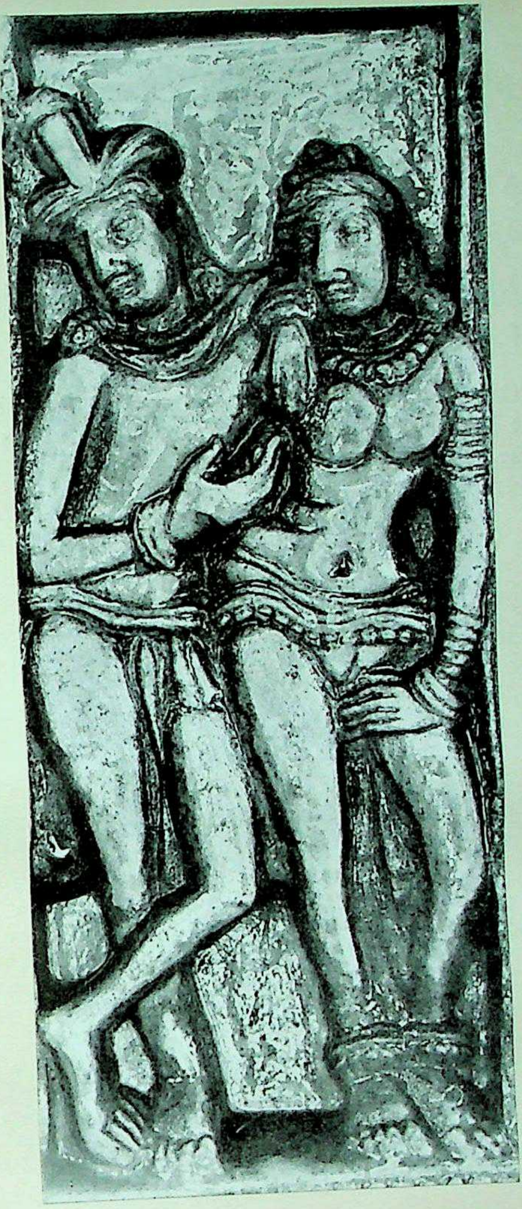
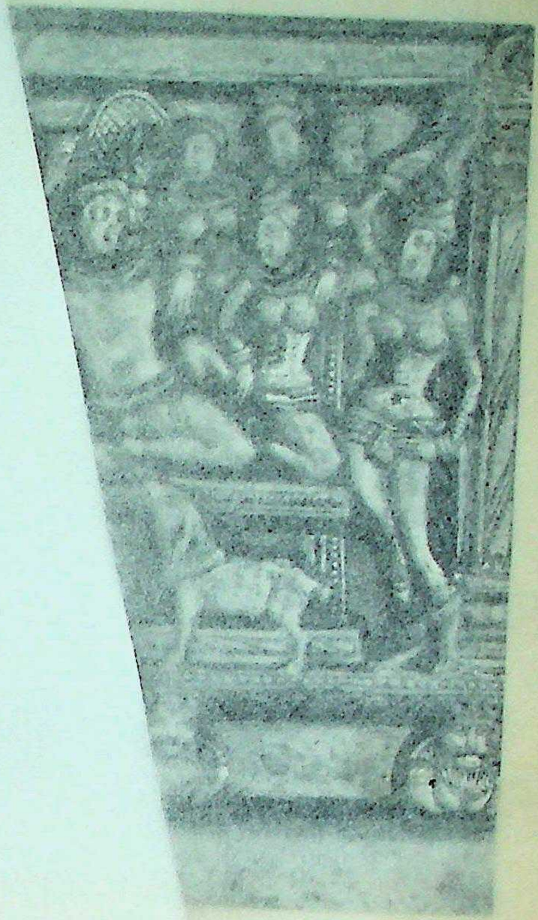


PLATE XXIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Siddhārtha Rescues a Sacrificial Lamb

The incident, illustrative of the abounding compassion of the future Buddha, is portrayed with deep sympathy and a fondness for the decorative figures, effectively grouped around the focal Siddhārtha feeding the hungry mouth which looks up.



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Āyaka Cornice-stone

Siddhārtha Rescues a Sacrificial Lamb

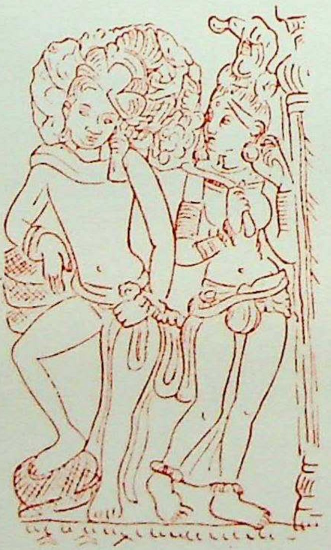
The incident, illustrative of the abounding compassion of the future Buddha, is portrayed with deep sympathy and a fondness for the decorative figures, effectively grouped around the focal Siddhārtha holding the hungry animal which looks up.

PLATE XXIV

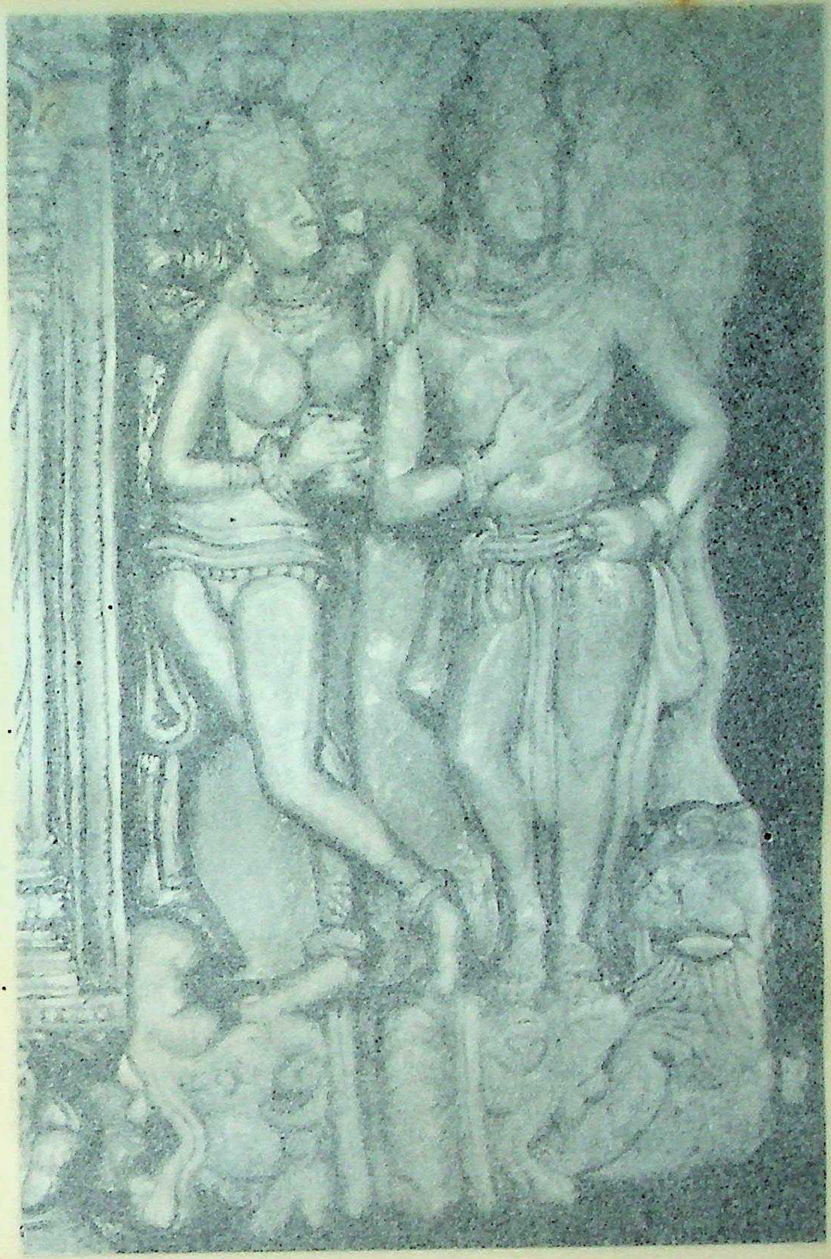
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The motif of the proffered cup of wine occurs frequently in the *mithunas* of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : *Mithuna*



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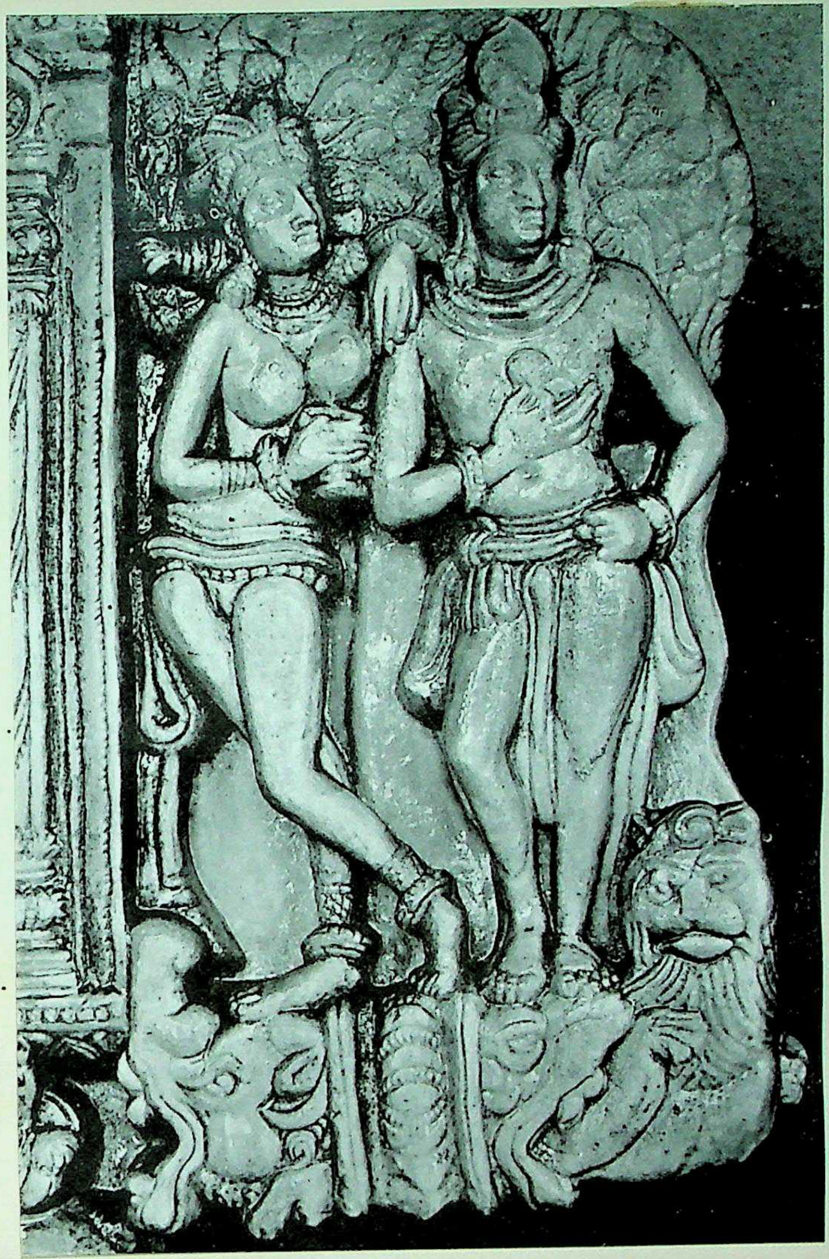

PLATE XXV

Āyaka Cornice-stone

The Buddha's Nativity

In this relief is sculptured the 'Nativity and the Seven Steps'; on the right, grasping the branch of a *śāla* tree, in the Lumbini garden near Kapilavastu, is the graceful queen Māyā with her attendant maids; at top centre the Bodhisattva, represented symbolically by the royal *chatra*, and, straight below, the water-pot from which the infant received his first bath; and, to the left of the queen, the guardian deities of the four quarters trail a cloth marked with the steps of the child who, being born, proclaimed "I am the foremost of the world", while the gods in Heaven witness the spectacle with evident reverence.

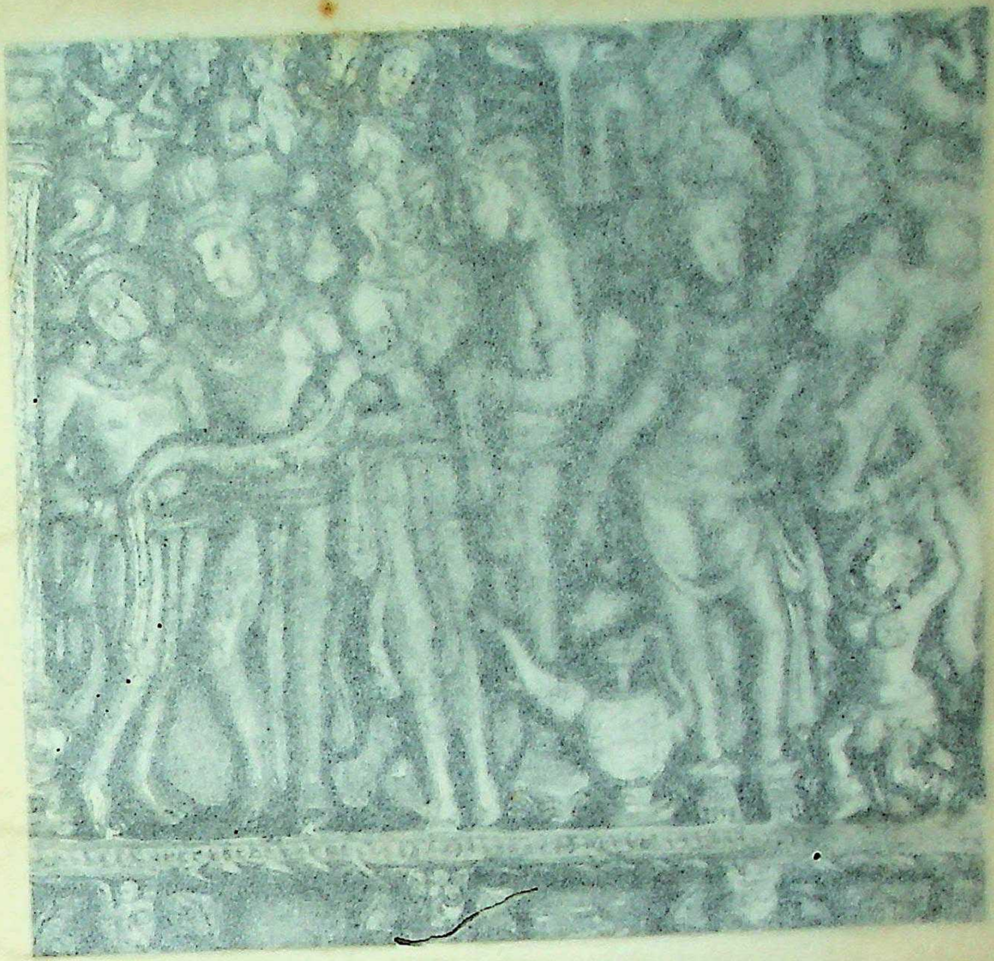

PLATE XXV

[illegible] Cornice-stone

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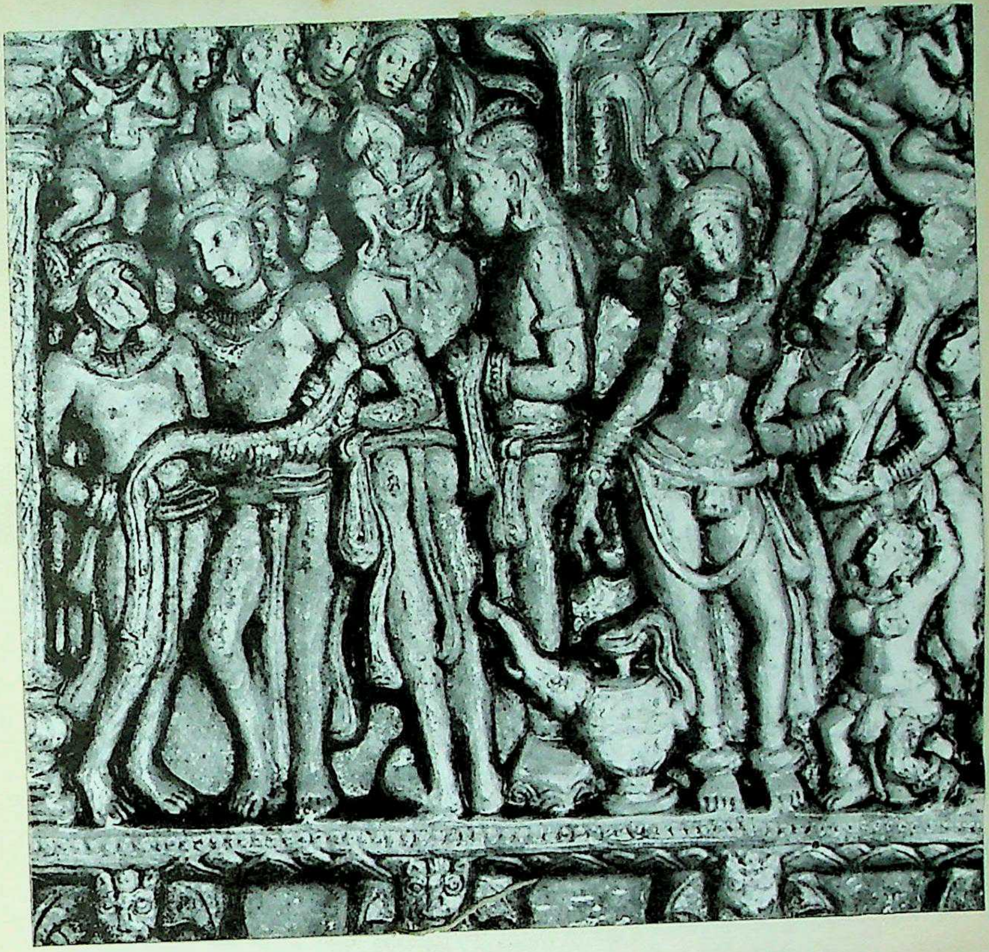
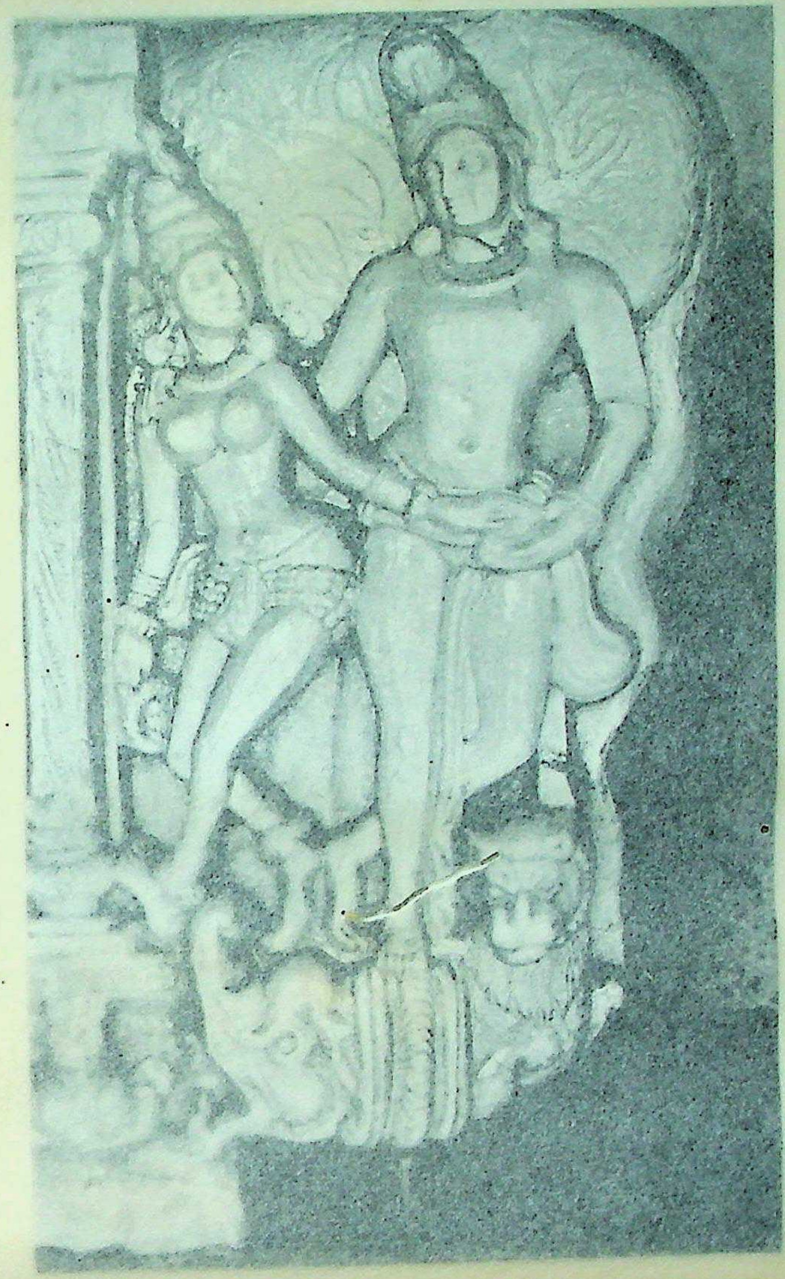


PLATE XXVI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

This *mithuna*, forming the bracket of the cornice-stone, realises in its repetitive oval forms a stately quality, emphasised by the decorative animal motif, of a combined lion and *makara*, sustaining the amorous pair.



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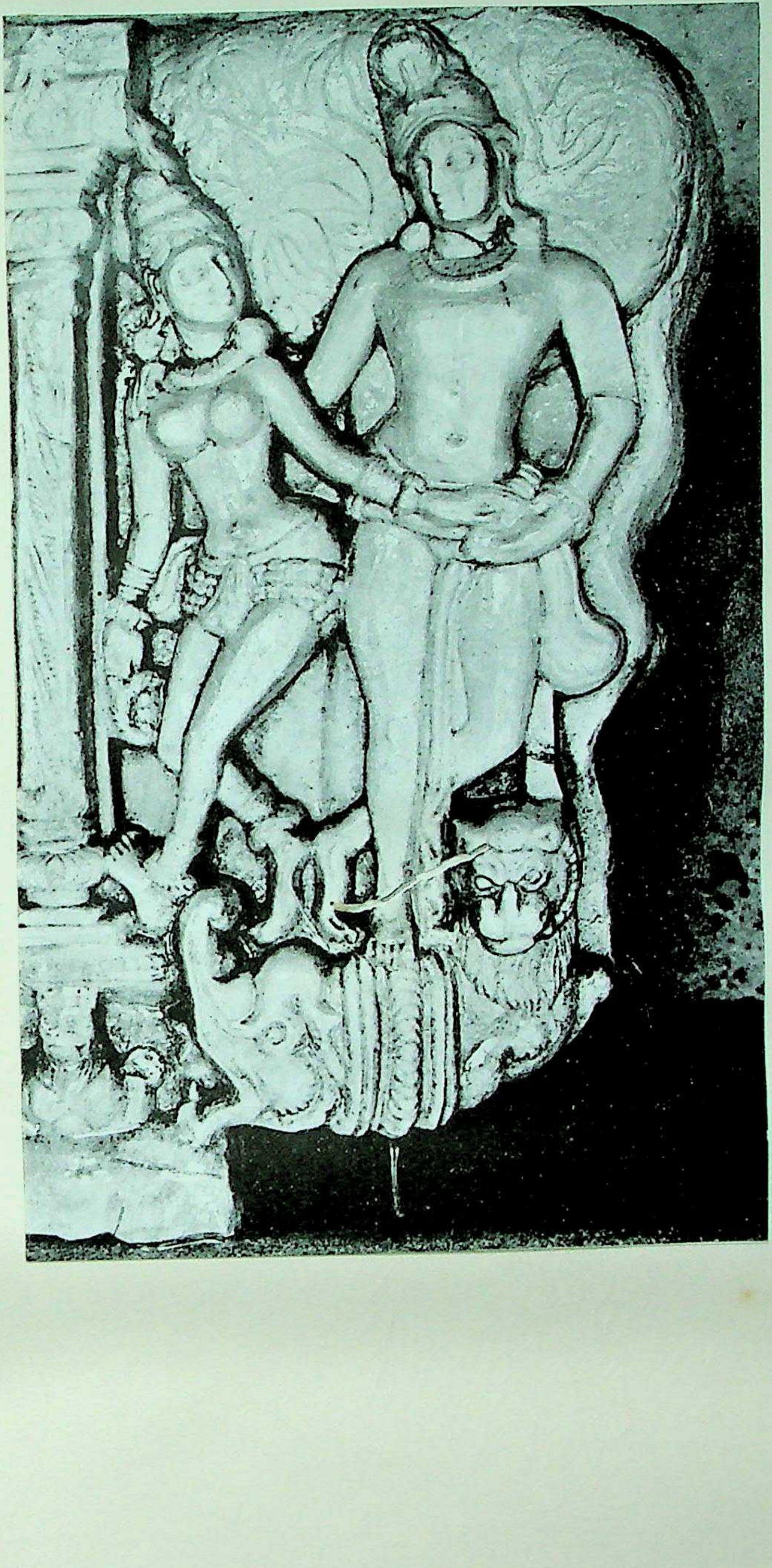
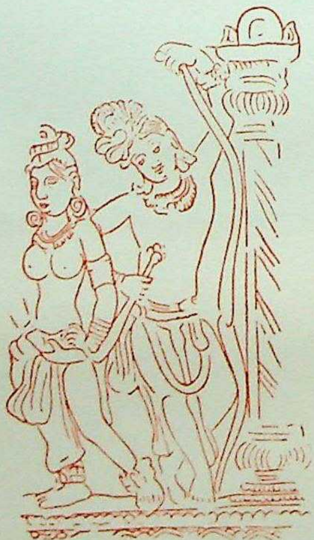


PLATE XXVII

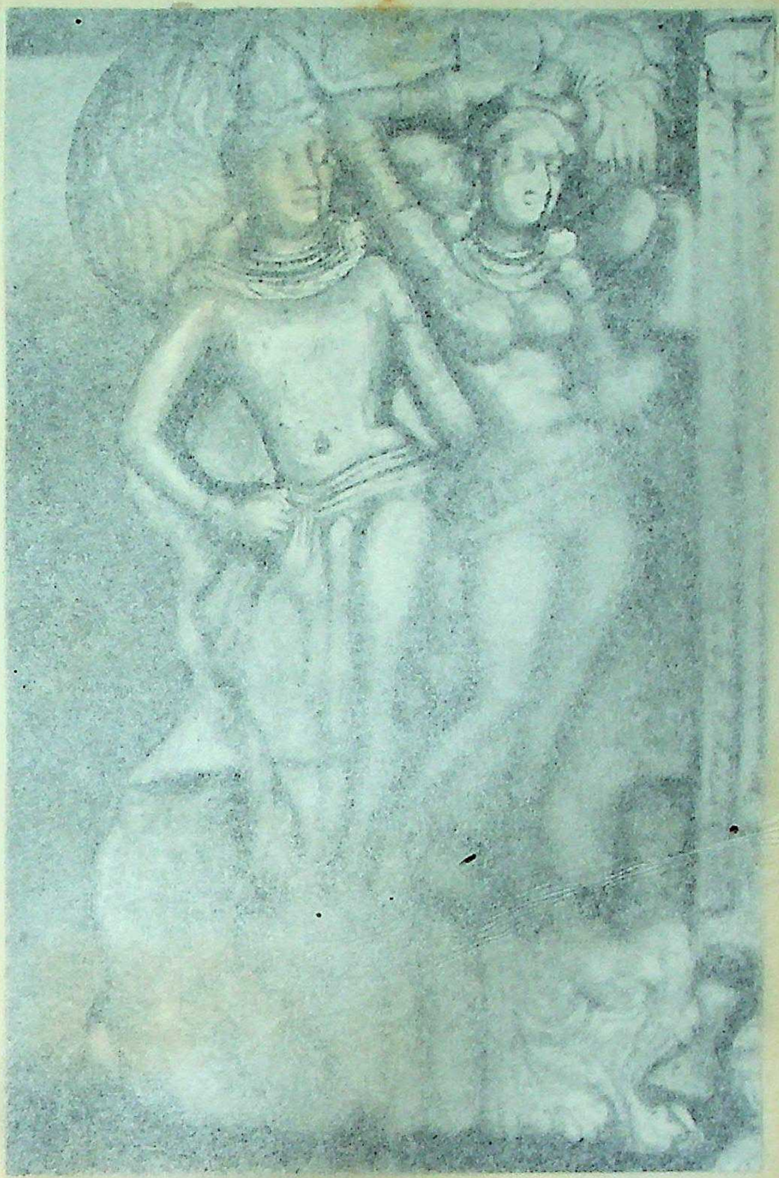
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The arched lady, watched by her lover, arranges her coiffure in the mirror which she sports.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : *Mithuna*



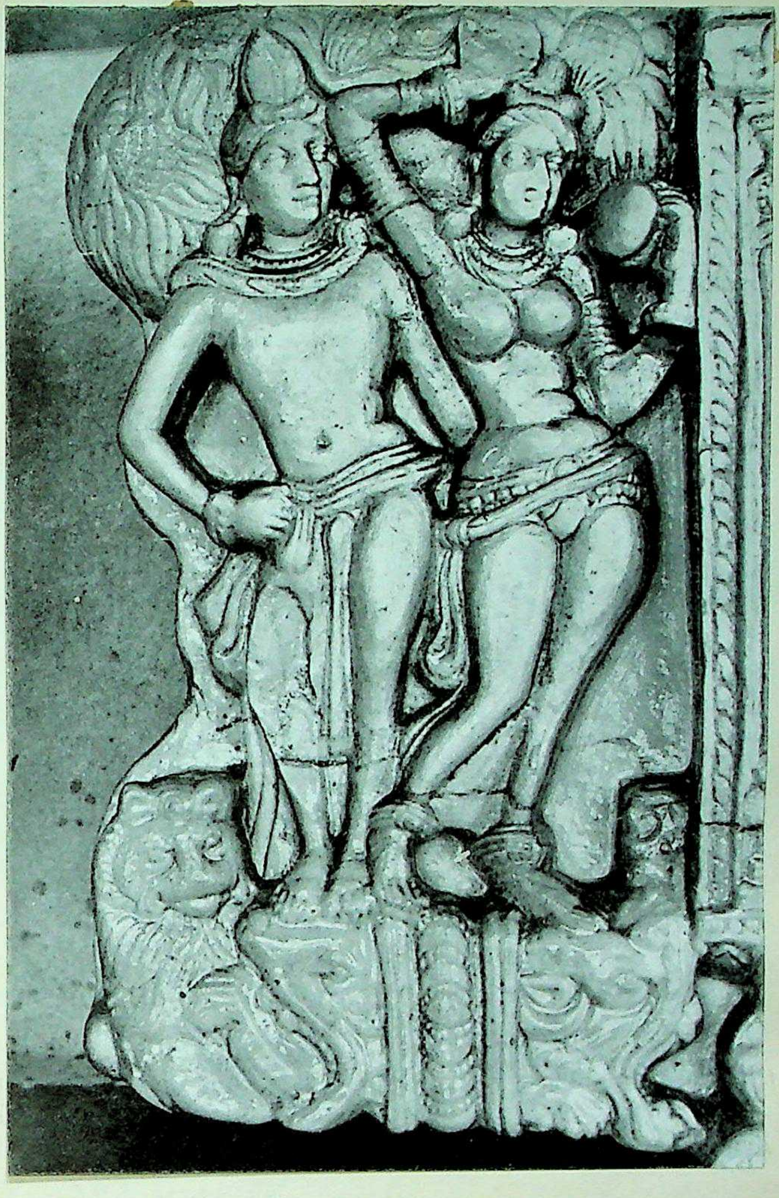
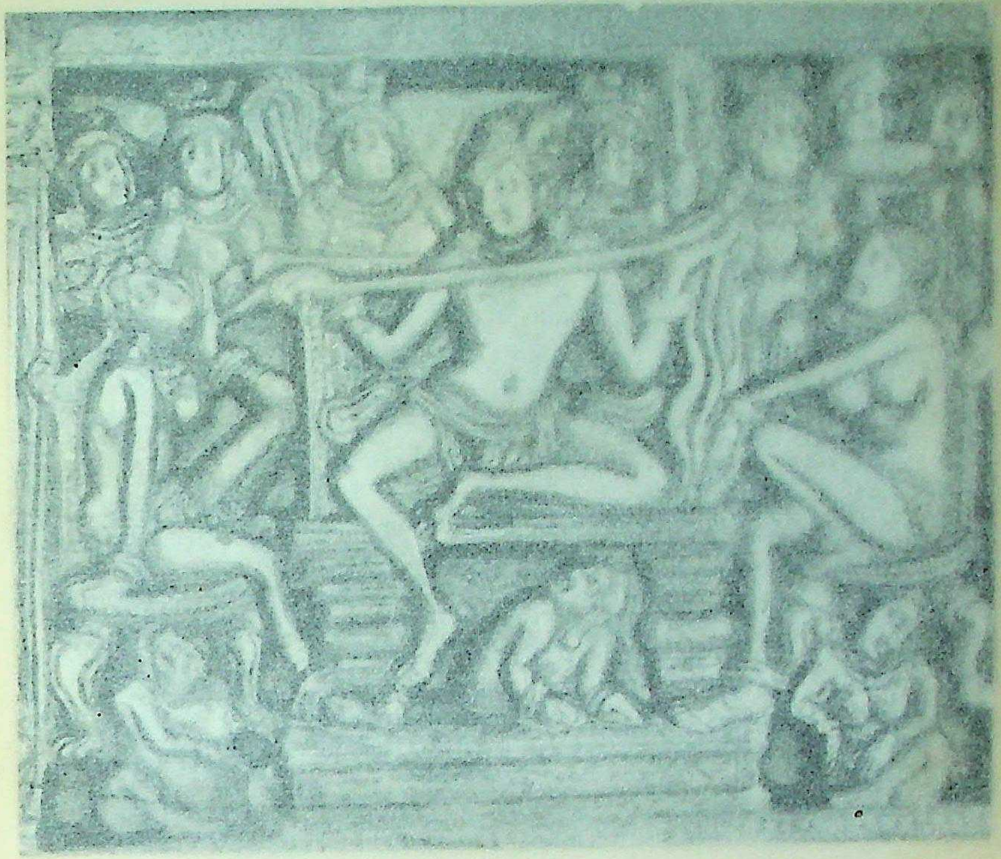


PLATE XXVIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Siddhārtha and the Mighty Bow

The prince Siddhārtha examines the mighty bow, a heirloom, which he wielded with amazing expertness to win the beautiful Yaśodhara for his bride. Around the central figure of the confident prince the ladies of the Court are grouped in dramatic suspense, while the three dwarfs below provide an impish touch (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 32).



[illegible]

[illegible]

Siddhartha and the Mighty Bow

The young Siddhartha examines the mighty bow, a heirloom, which he handled with amazing expertness to win the beautiful Yaśodharā for his bride. Around the central figure of the confident prince, the ladies of the Court are grouped in dramatic suspense, while the three dwarfs below provide an impish touch (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. [illegible]

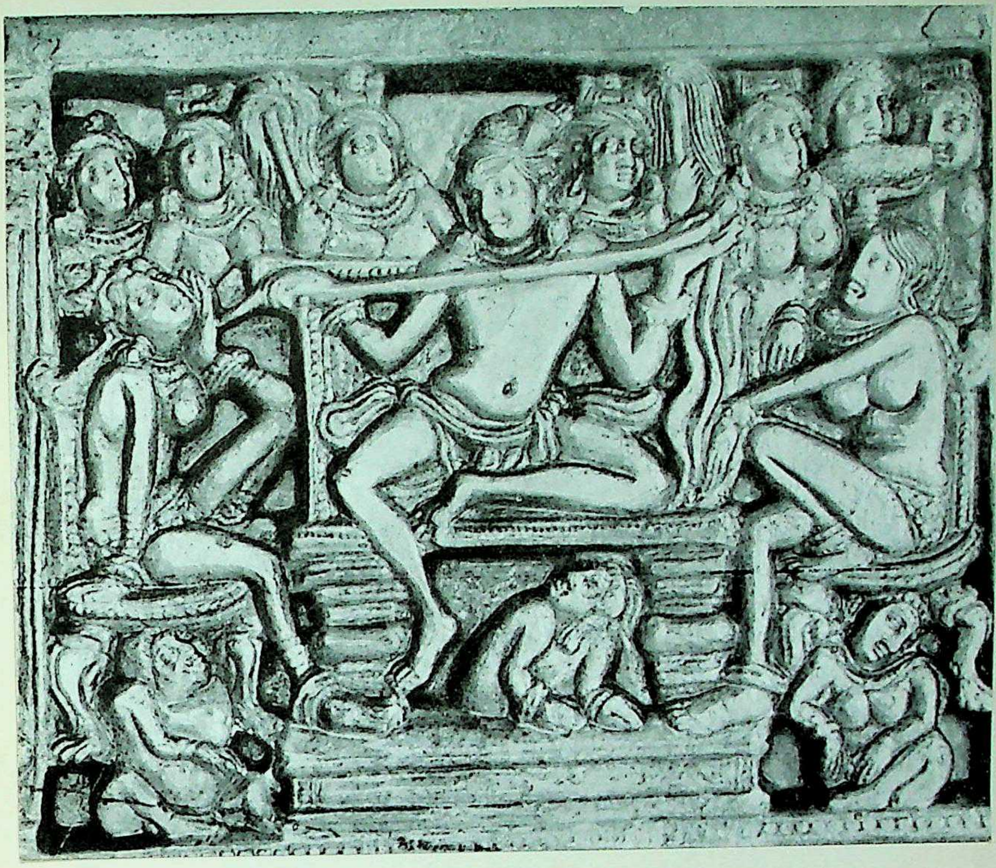
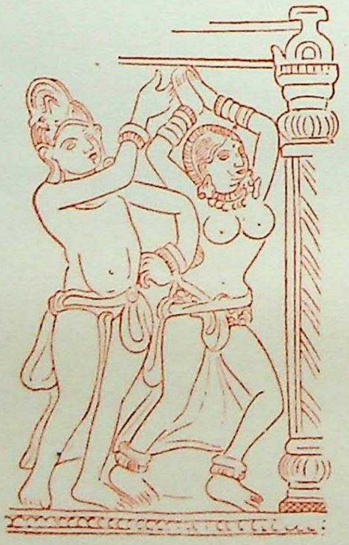


PLATE XXIX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : *Mithuna*

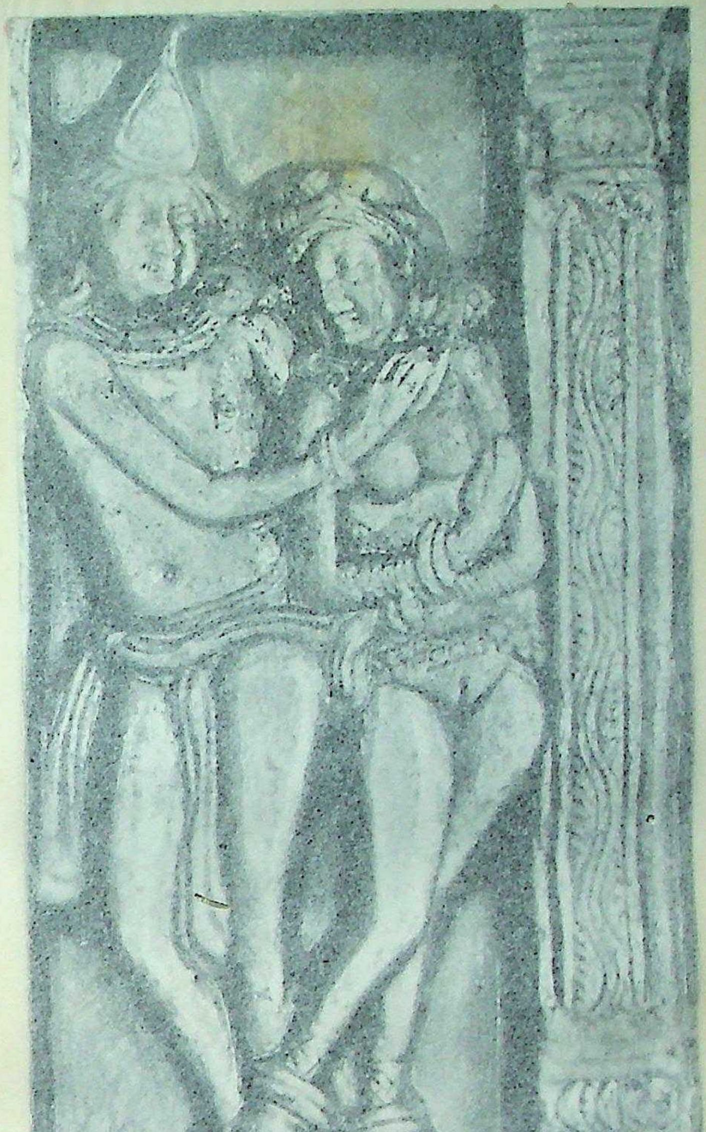
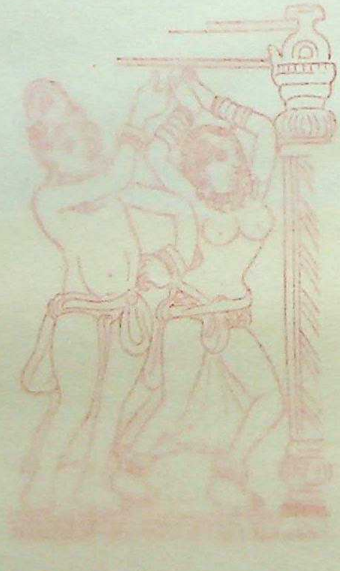


PLATE XXIX

Asoka Cornice-stone

Mithuna



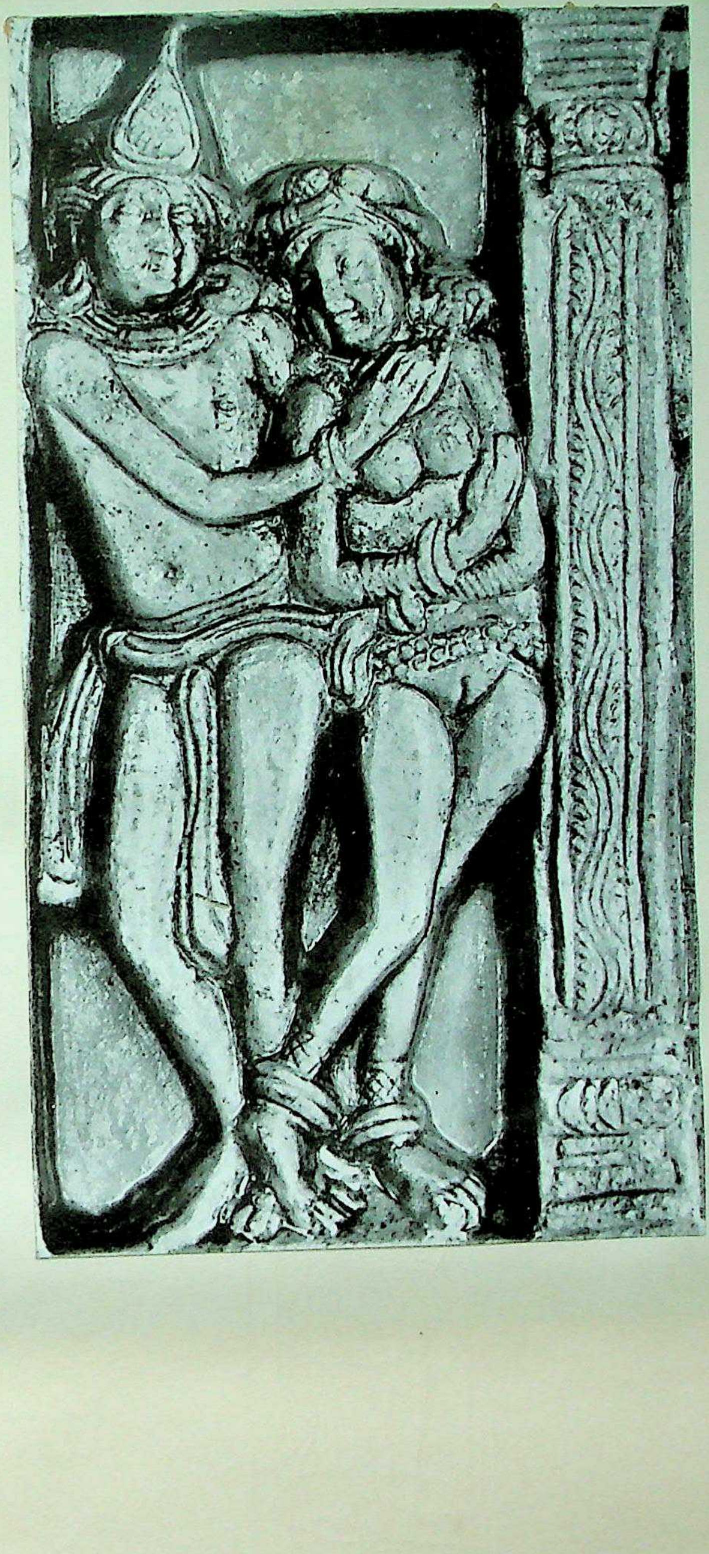
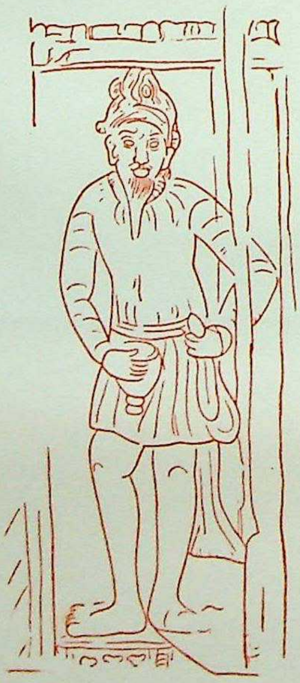


PLATE XXX

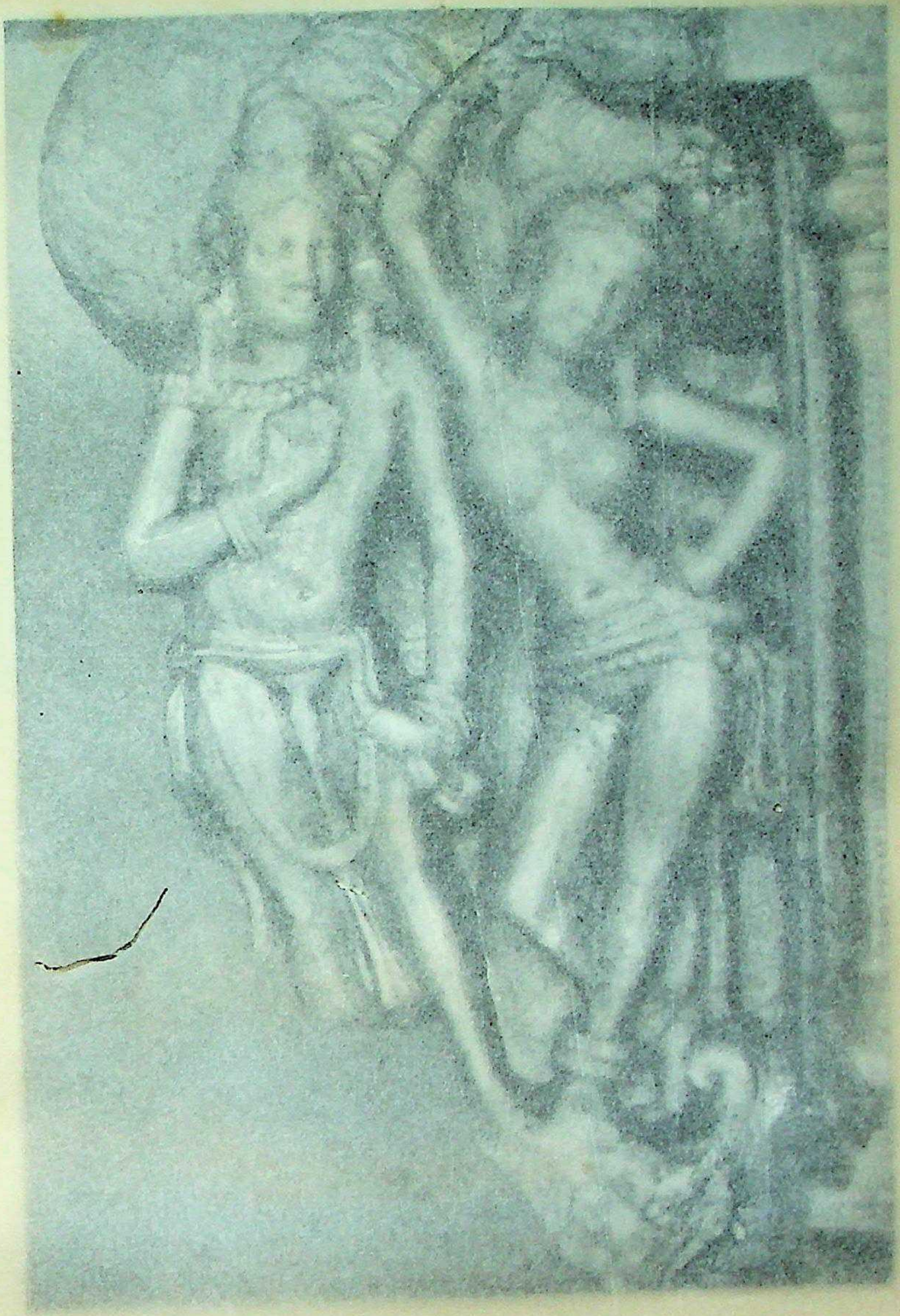
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

A bracket *mithuna*, of which the voluptuous woman is realised in a *tribhanga* (thrice-bent) attitude of utter gracefulness.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Scythian Warrior from Palace Pillar



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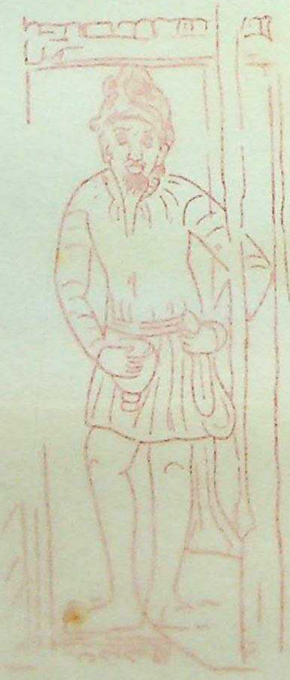


Nagarjunakonda : Scythian Warrior from Palace Pillar

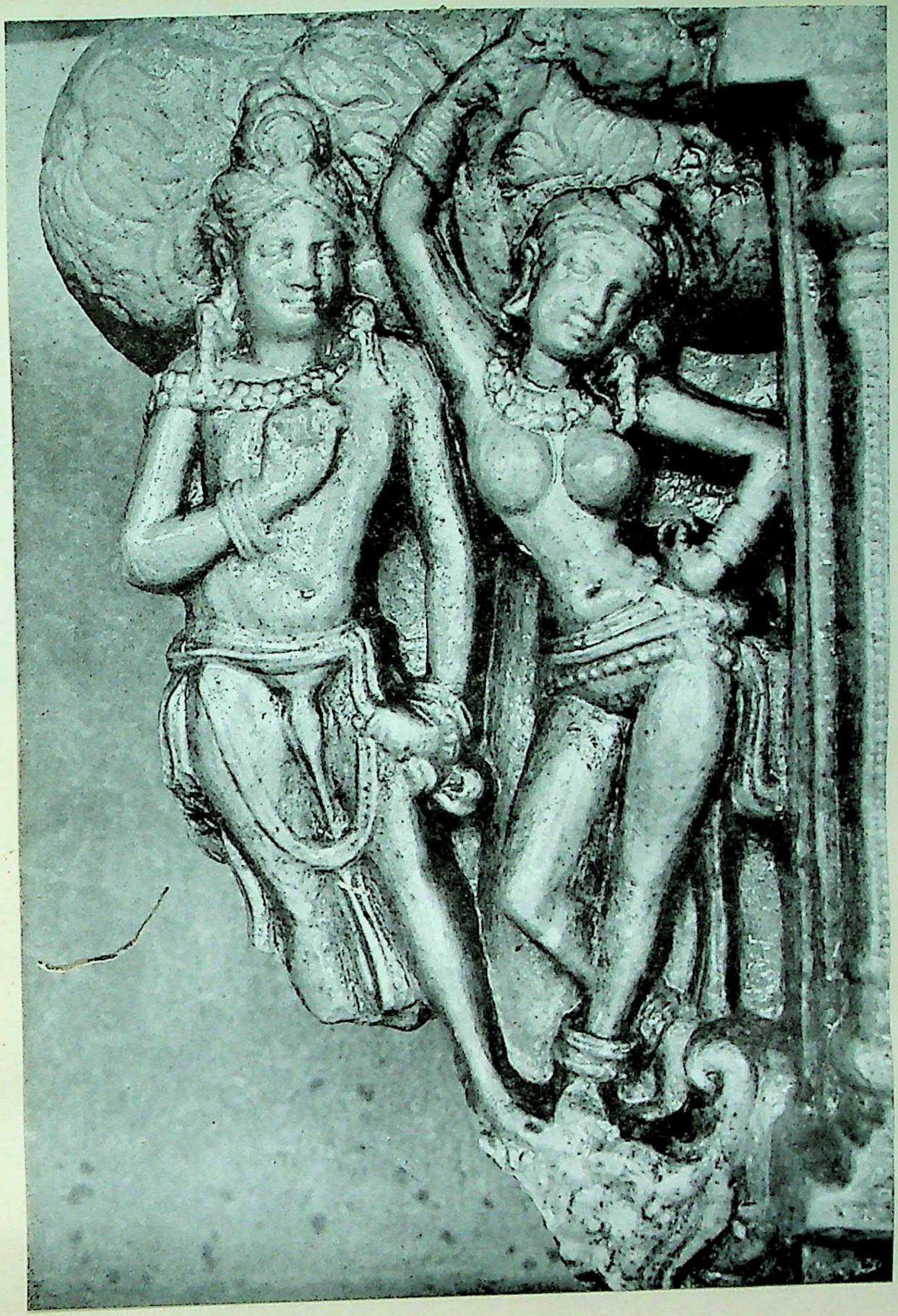
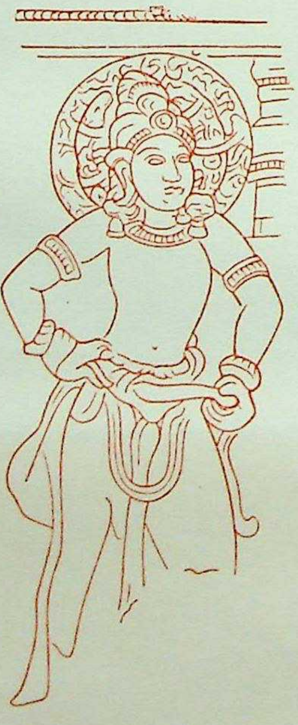


PLATE XXXI

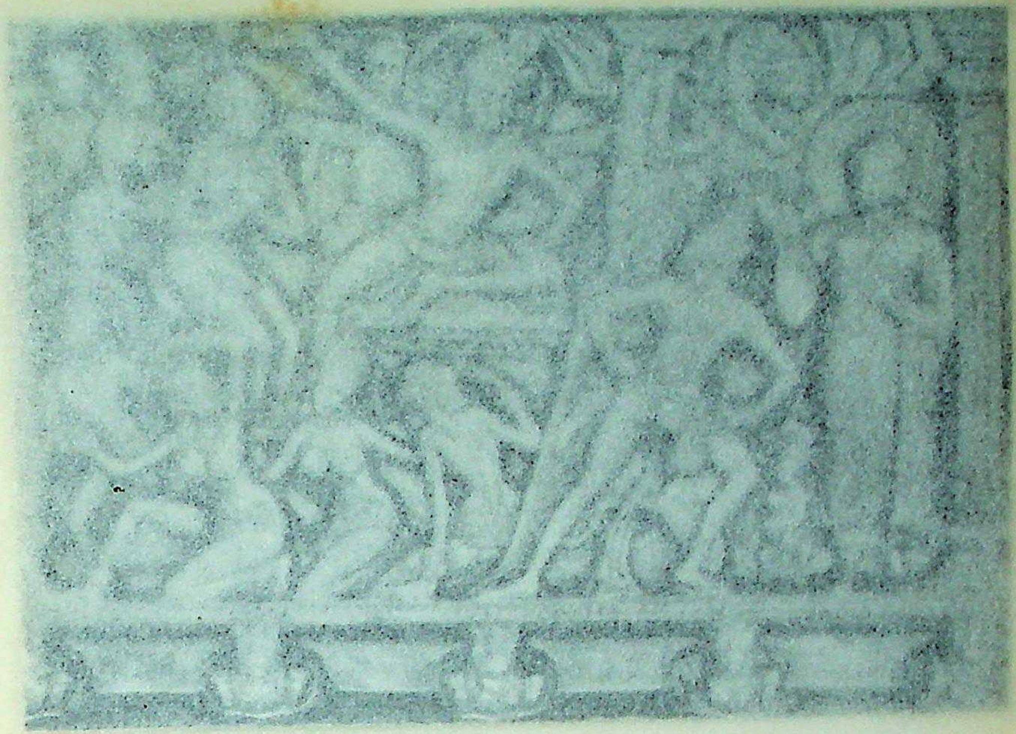
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Conversion of the *Nāga* Apalāla

In this vivid relief is presented the subjugation and eventual conversion to Buddhism of the turbulent *nāga* king, Apalāla, discovered amidst the pleasures of his harem ; the fearful Vajrapāṇi, having smitten the mountain-side with his thunder-bolt (visible through a cleft) stands arms akimbo, challengingly ; the Buddha, a picture of serenity, is ready to accept the repentant *nāga*.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Detail from the Conversion of the *Nāga* Apalāla



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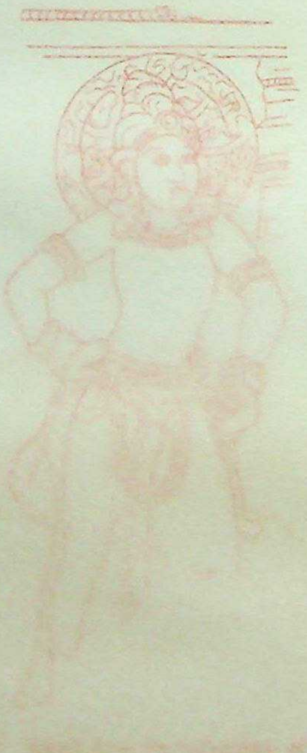


Vajrapāṇi : Detail from the Subjugation of the Nāga Apalāla

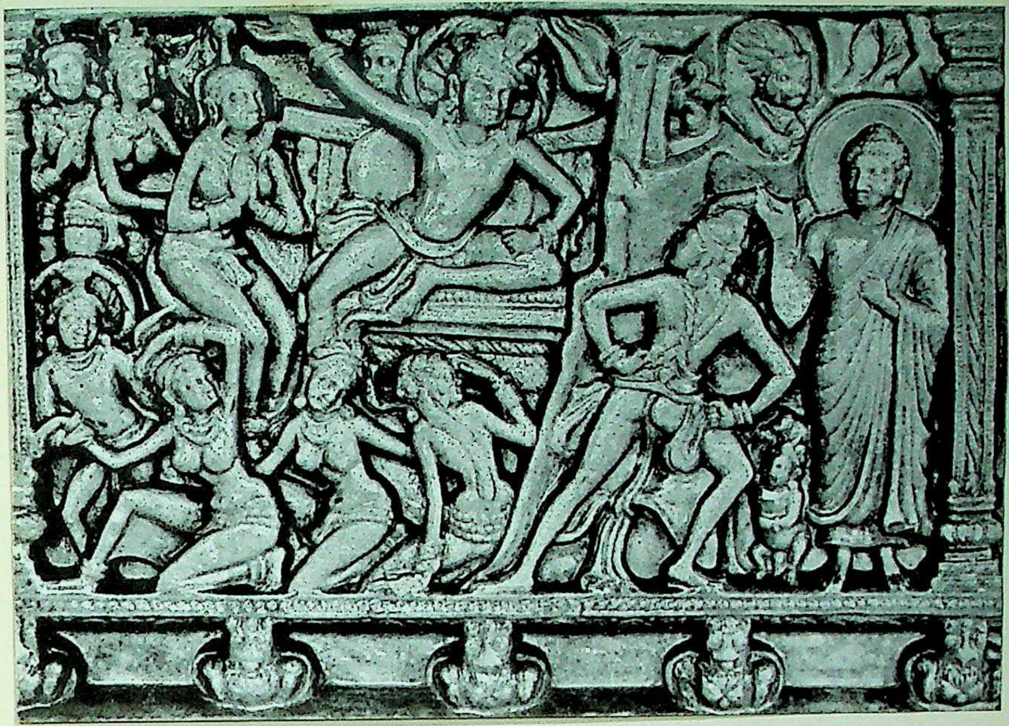
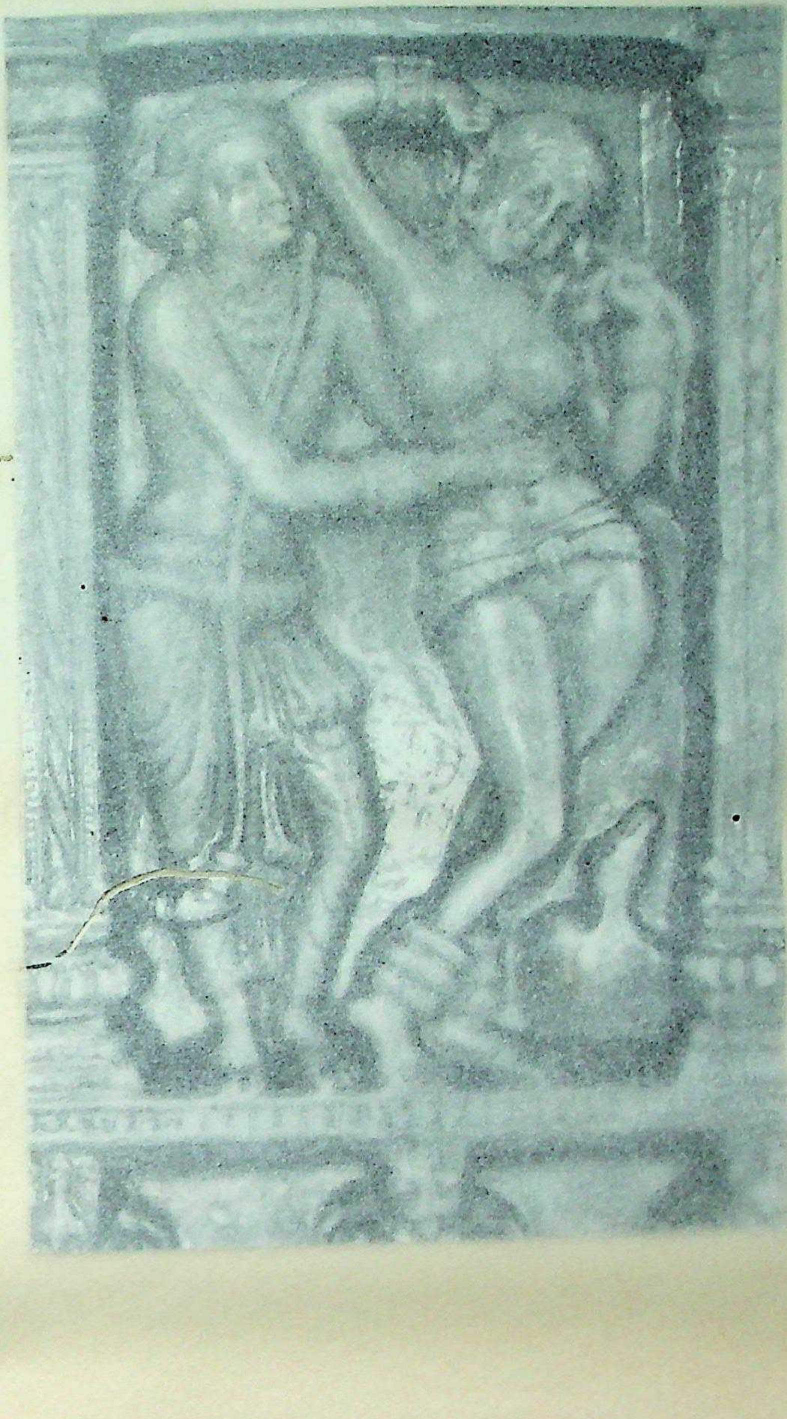


PLATE XXXII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

Of all the *mithunas* of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, this is the most impeccably sculptured ; for sheer voluptuousness, the bashful lady, poised on the edge of surrender, is hard to match.



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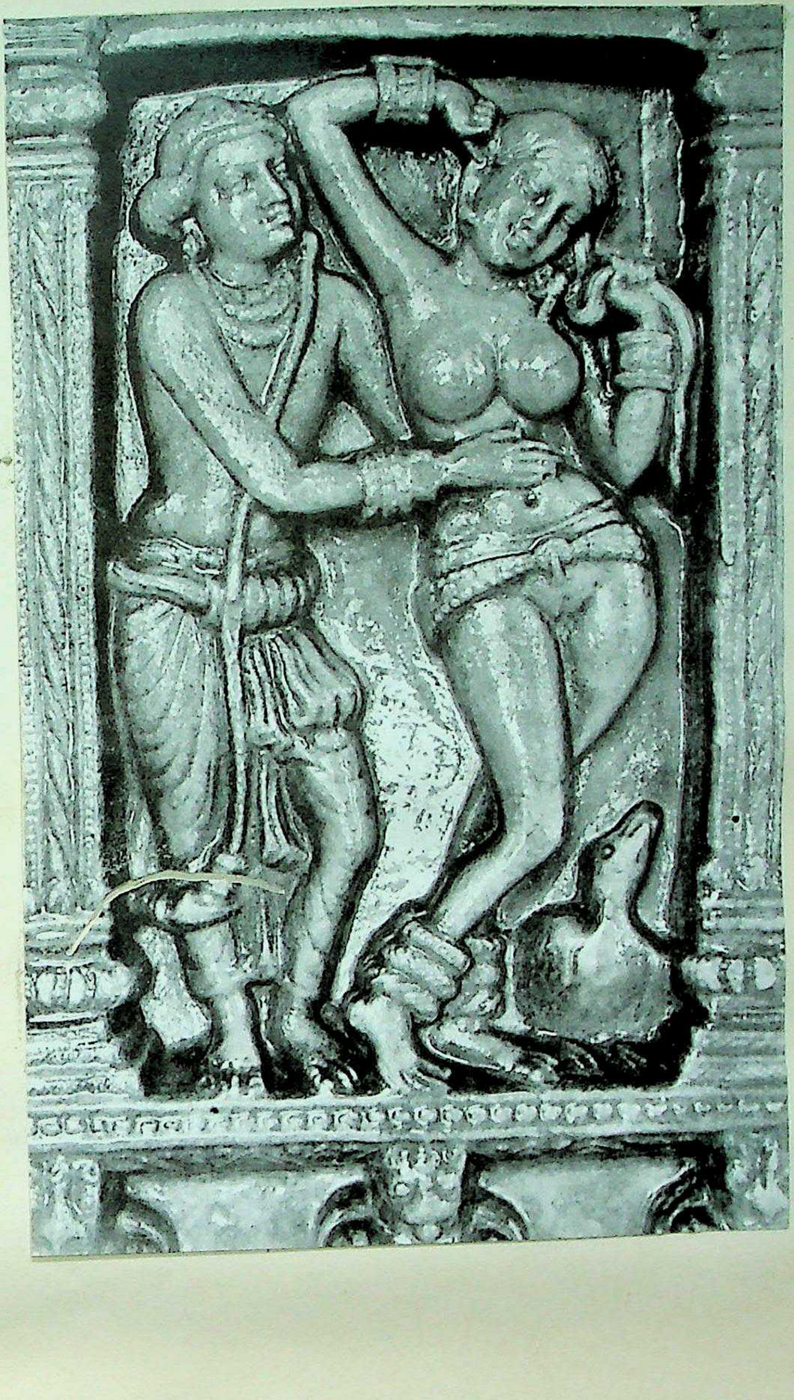
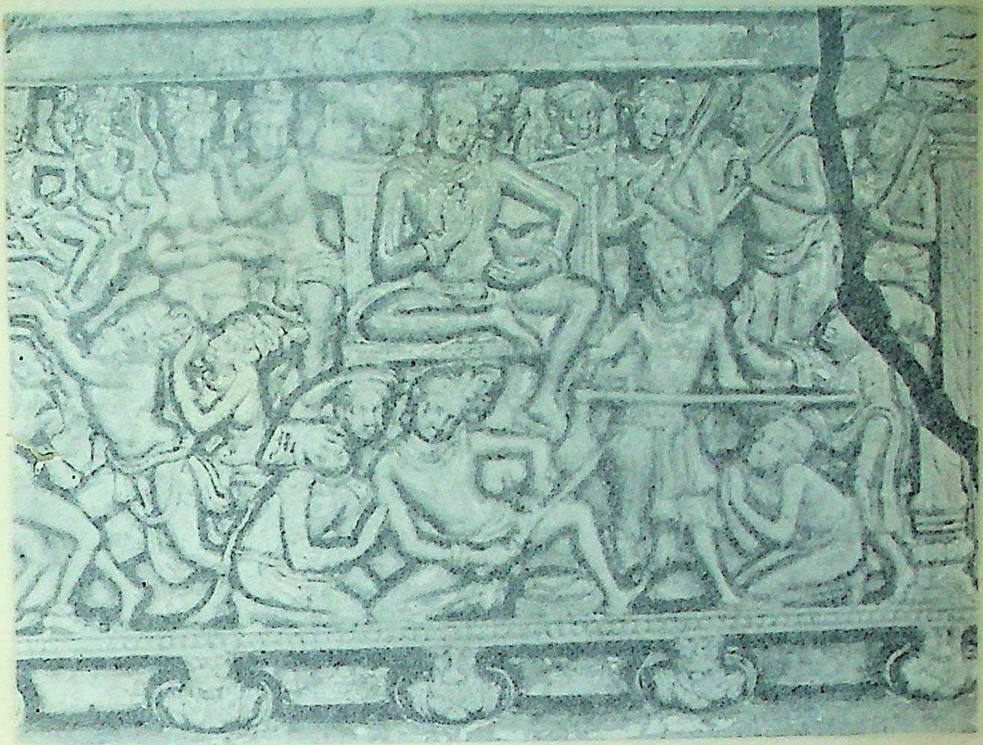


PLATE XXXIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Sibi *Jātaka*

The king Sibi holds the dove for the redemption of which he gave up his own flesh of equal weight ; then, in the synoptic mode of illustration, the monarch is repeated, seated under the throne, slicing his thighs, while the dismayed ladies of the Court beg of him to desist ; to his right, an unrelenting person holds the scale to weigh the flesh in ; in yet another panel, on top left, in a concession to the Pāli version of the legend, is the god Sakka (Indra), come to restore the limbs of the king whose hands are raised in grateful adoration (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 46).



[illegible]

[illegible]stone

Sibi Jātaka

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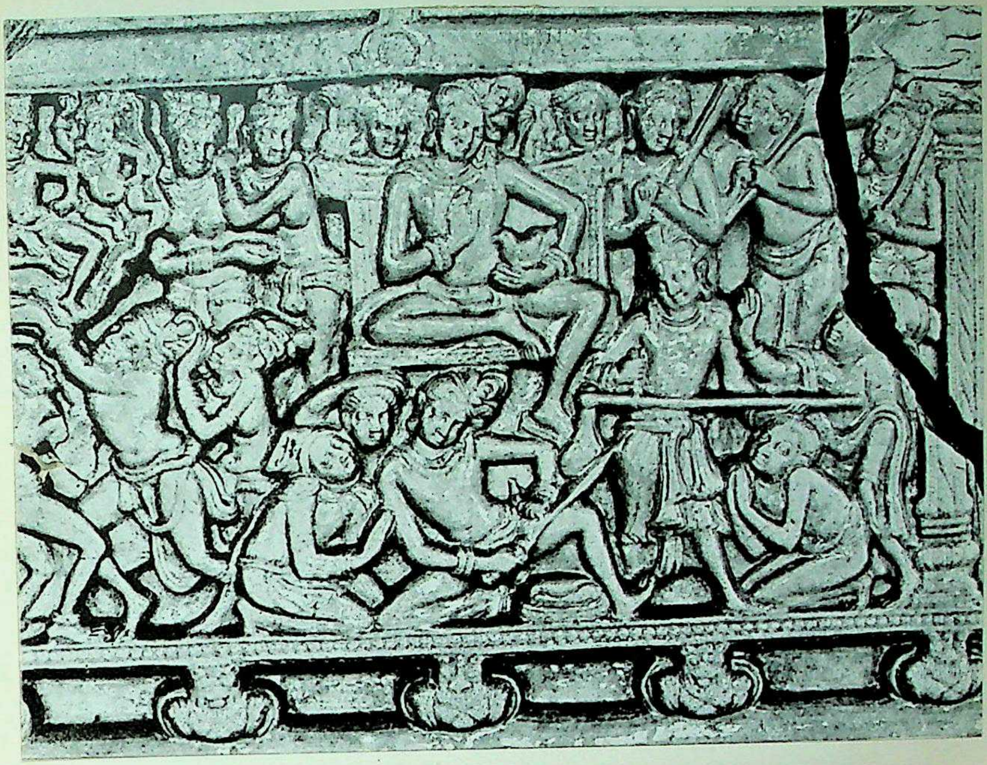
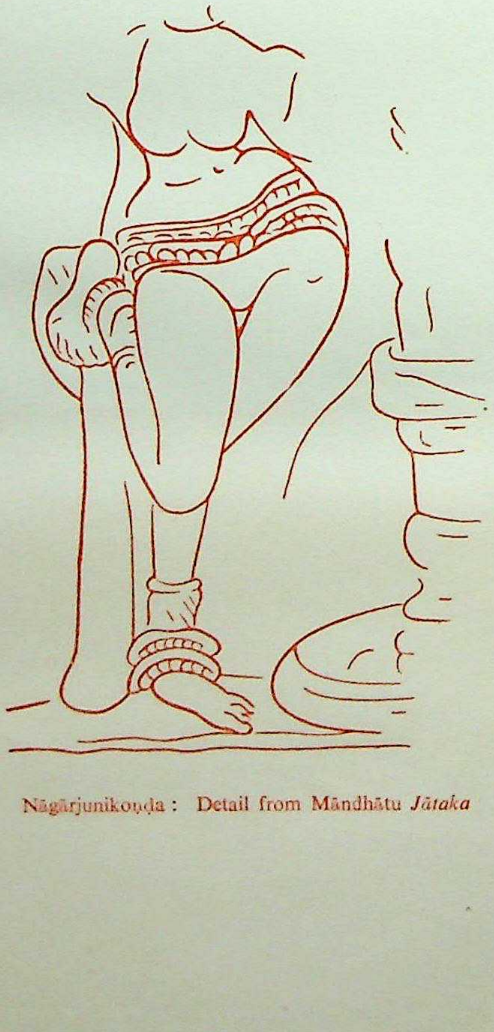


PLATE XXXIV

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The cup of wine is charmingly declined.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Detail from Māndhātu *Jātaka*

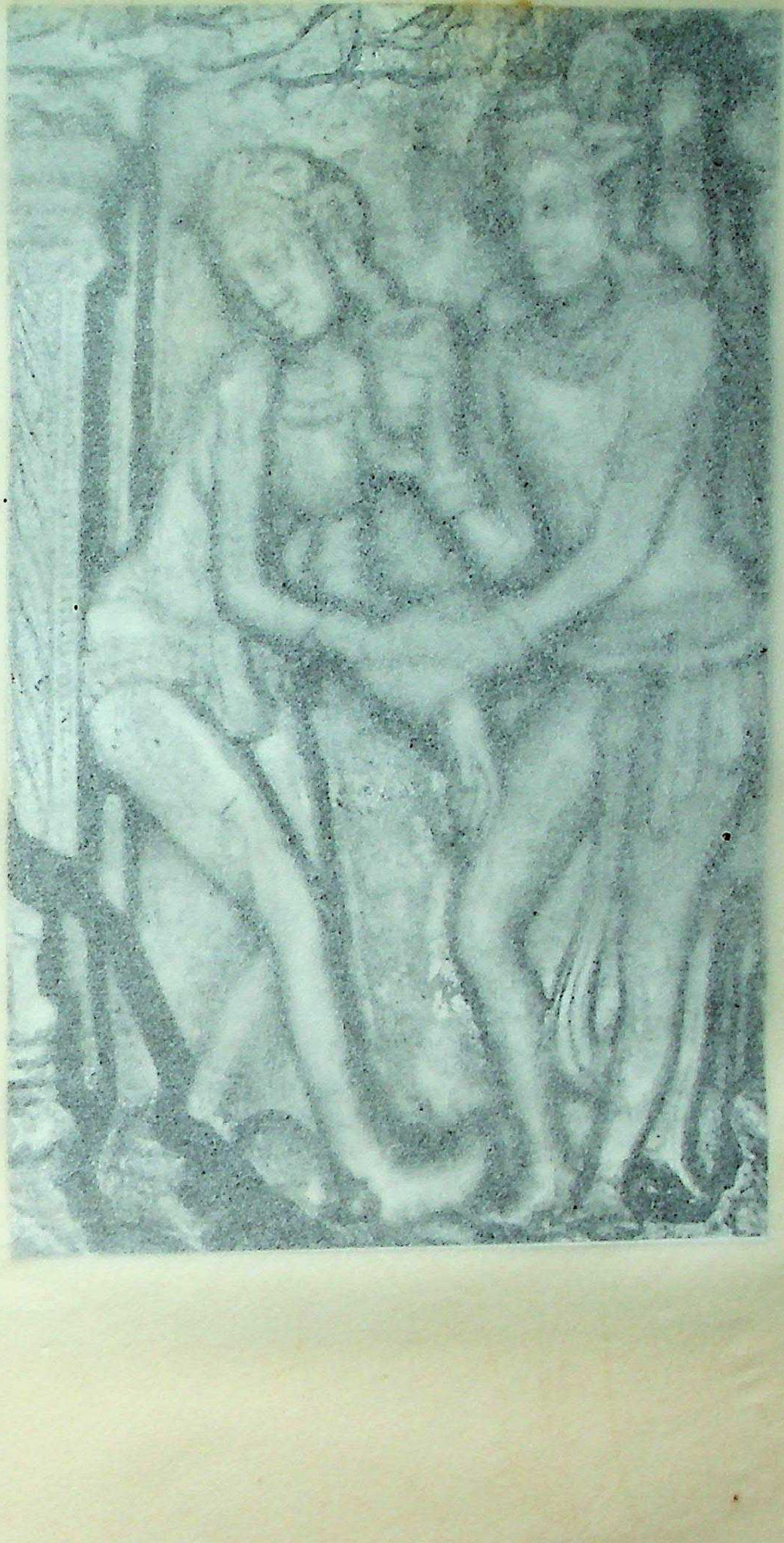


PLATE XXXIV

[illegible] Cornice-stone

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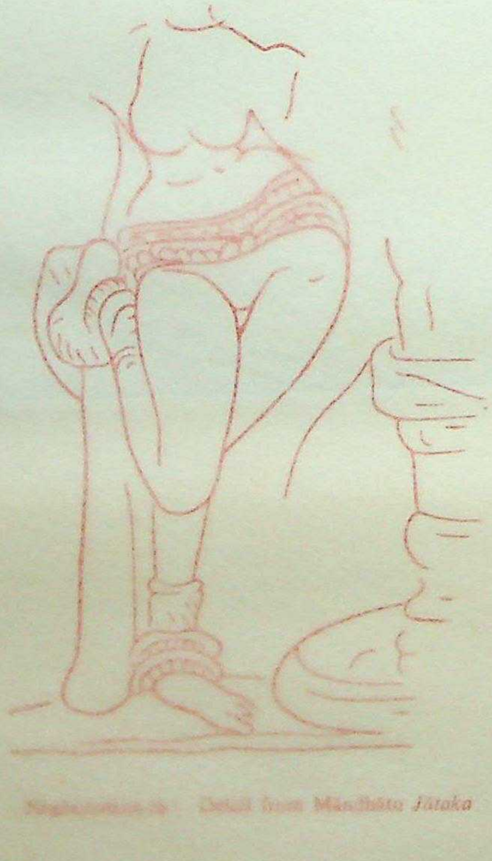


[illegible] Detail from Māndhāta *Jātaka*

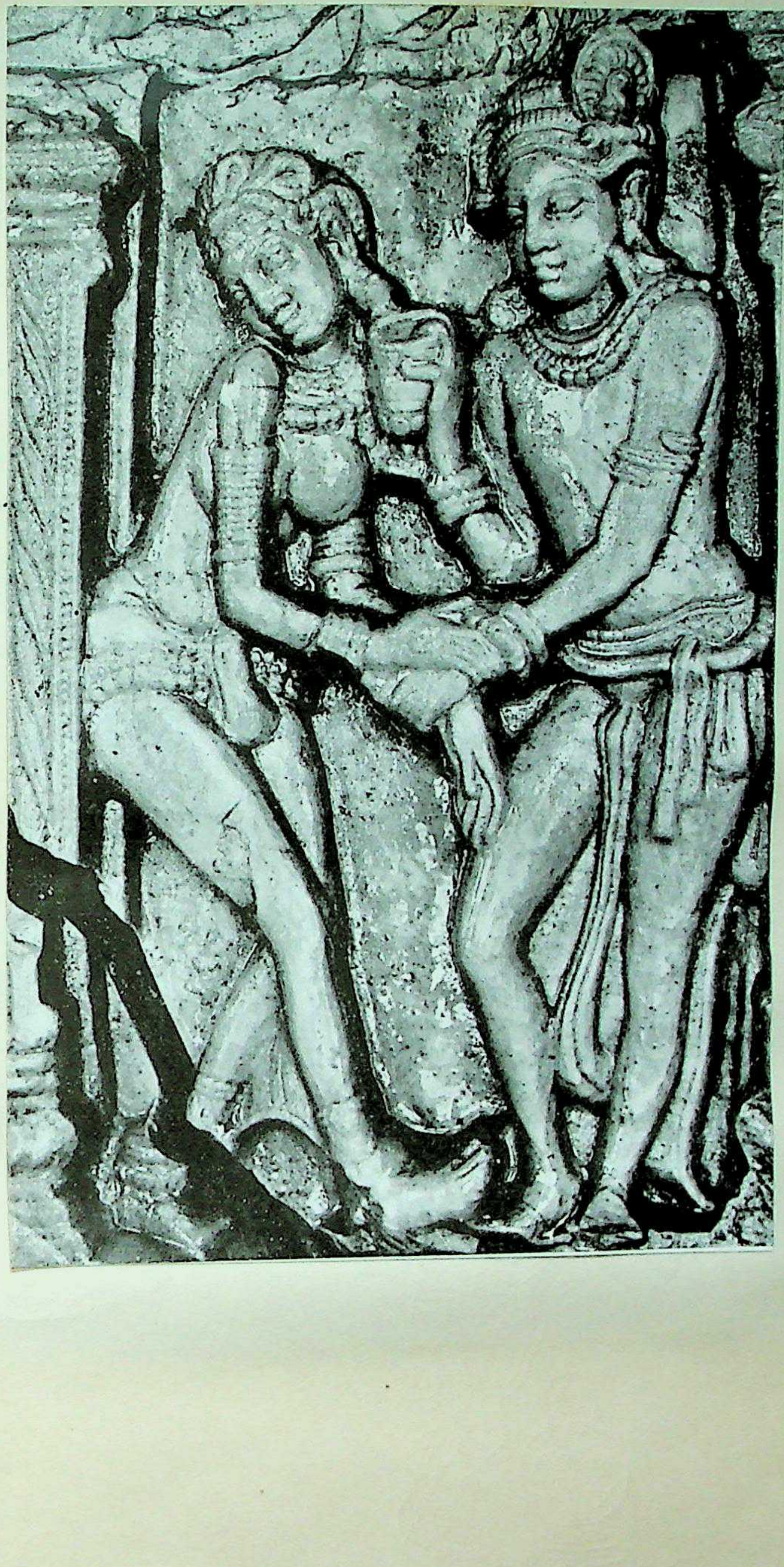
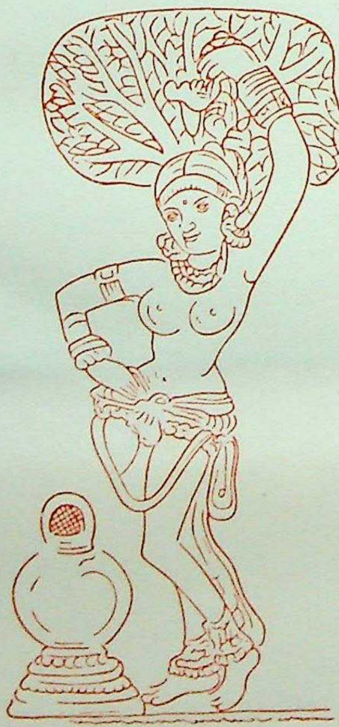


PLATE XXXV

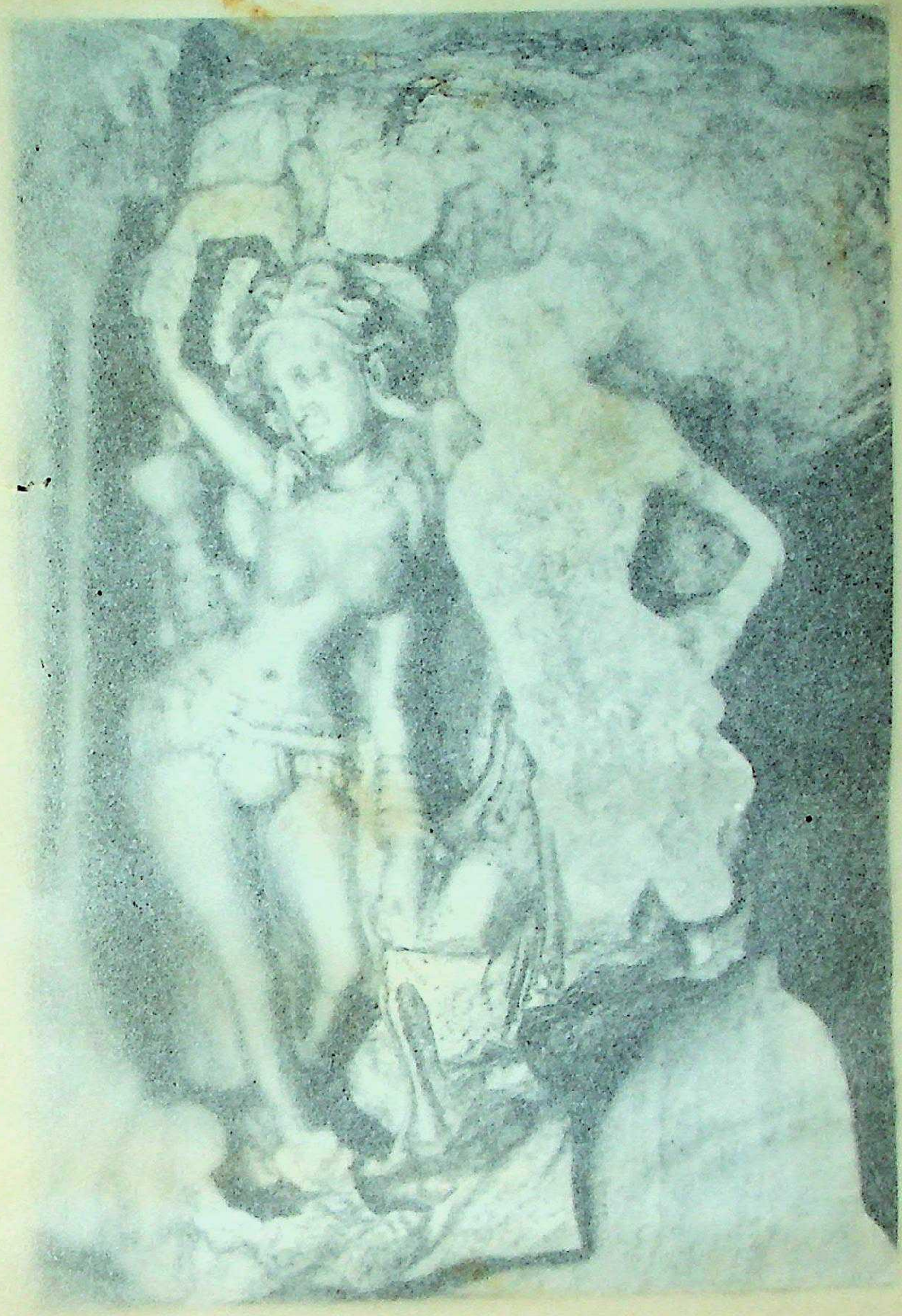
Āyaka Cornice-stone

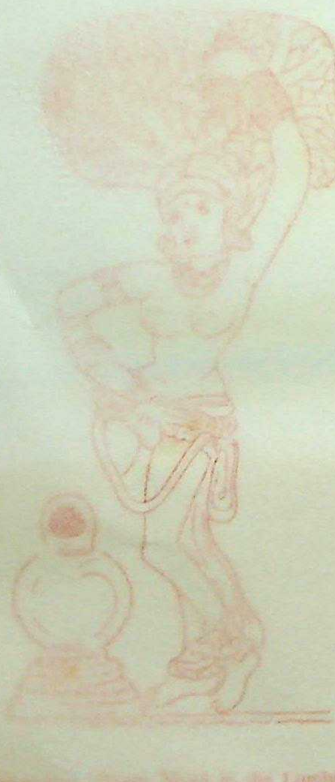
Mithuna

The mutilated bracket preserves this sensitive essay of *petite* womanhood, faultlessly organised into the expansive framework of the sculpture.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Queen Māyā in the Lumbini Garden





[illegible] — Queen Maya in the Lumbini Garden

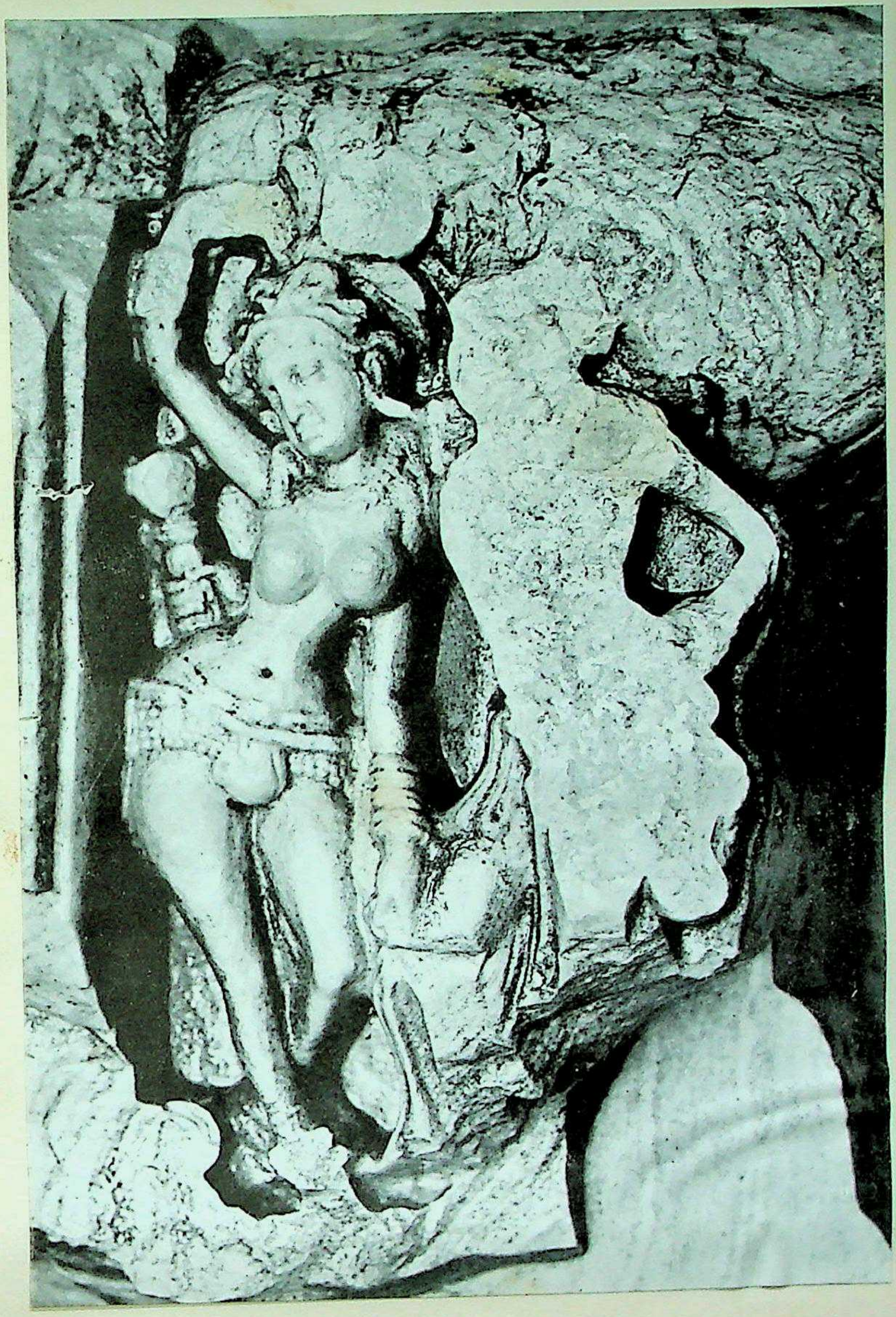


PLATE XXXVI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Dohada

A recurring motif in classical Indian sculpture, exemplified by the famous relief of the Culakoka *devata* on the Bhārhut railing, is the *dohada*—a woman embracing the flowering *śāla* tree. This symbolism is fetched from ancient fertility rites, the touch of the woman supposedly quickening the tree into immediate florescence, emblematic of the creative process. In this rich, full-bodied sculpture is typified Āndhra womanhood at its best ; the piece is a brilliant organisation of oval forms, sustained by the decorative pedestal of animal motif.

PLATE XXXVI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

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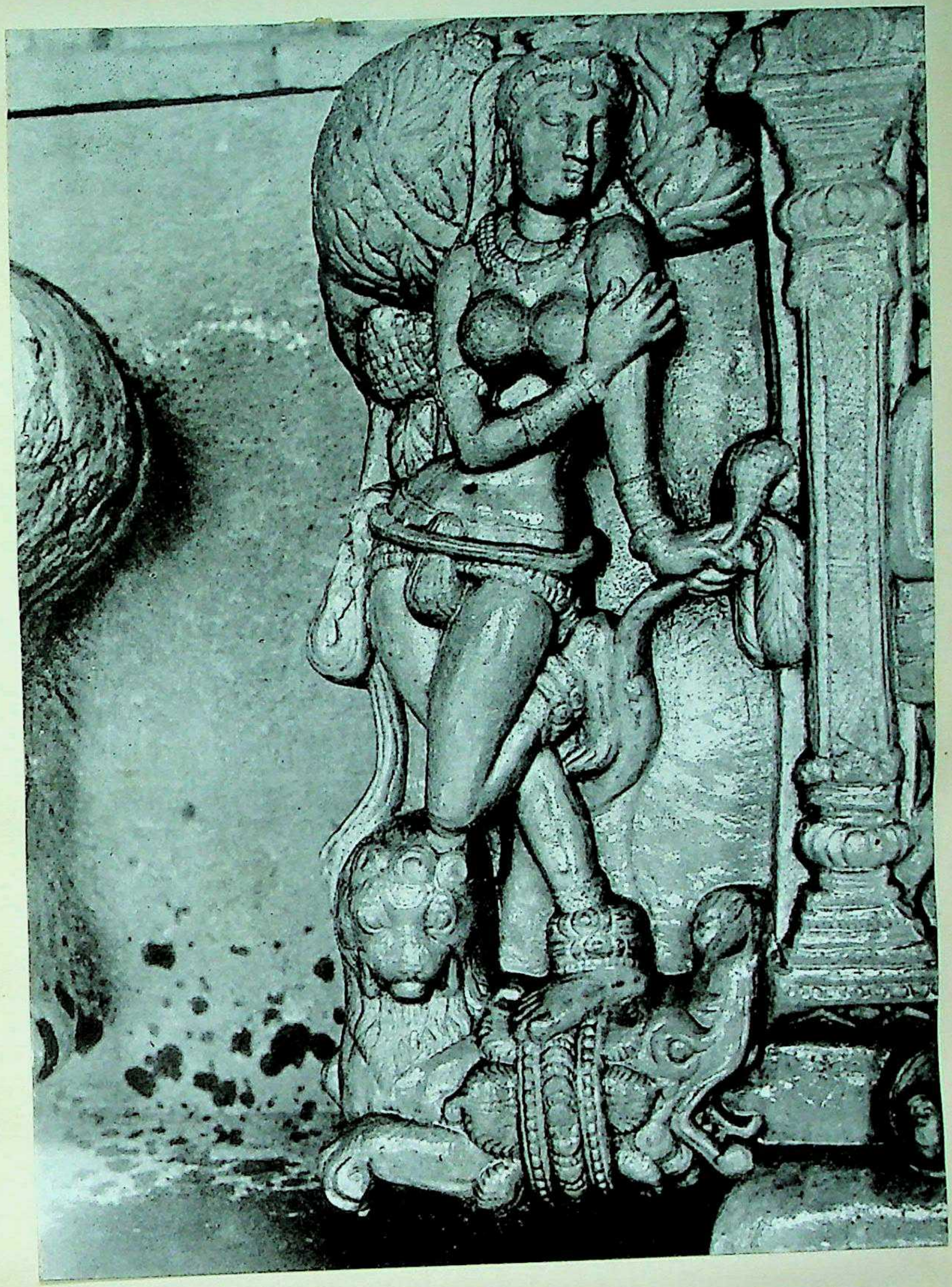
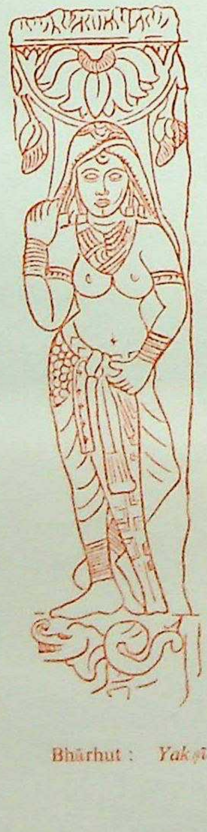


PLATE XXXVII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna



Bhārhut : *Yakṣī*

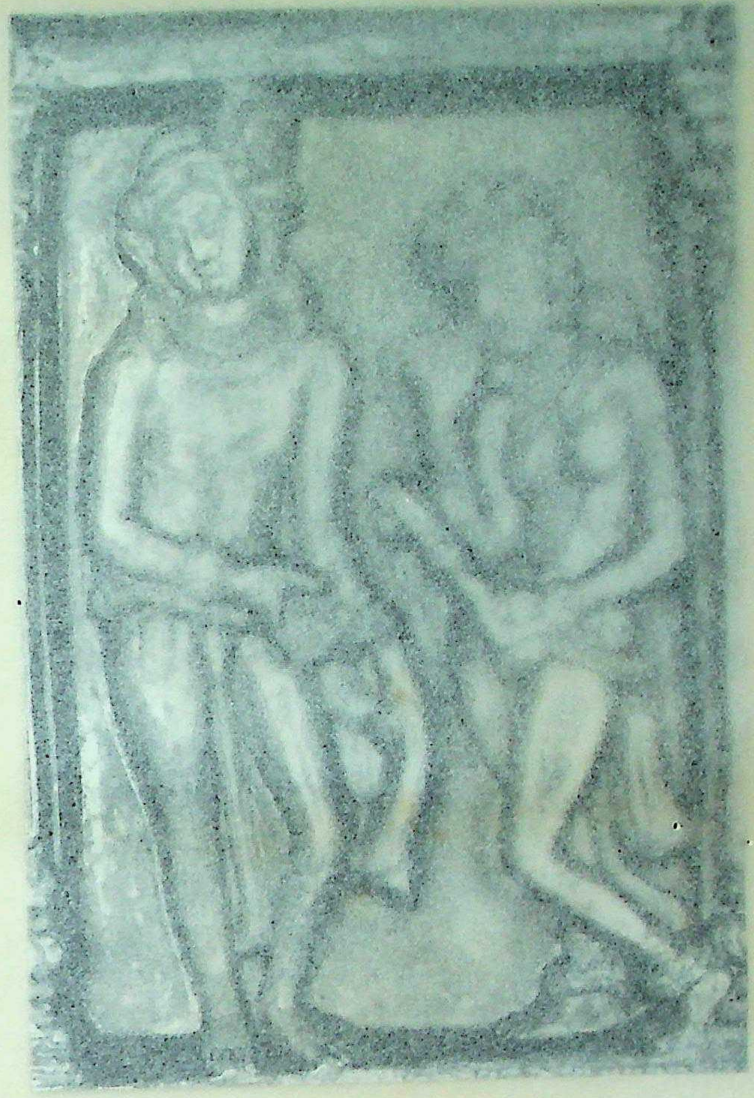
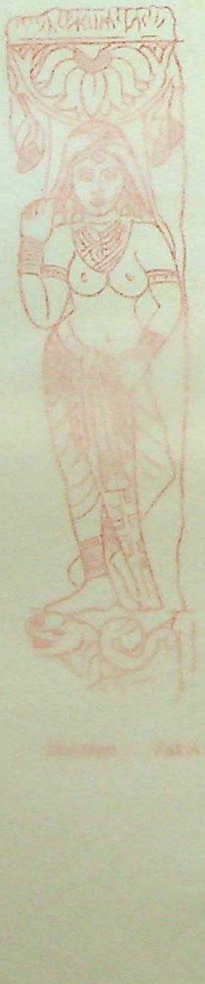


PLATE XXXVII

Yaksha Cornice-stone

Mithuna



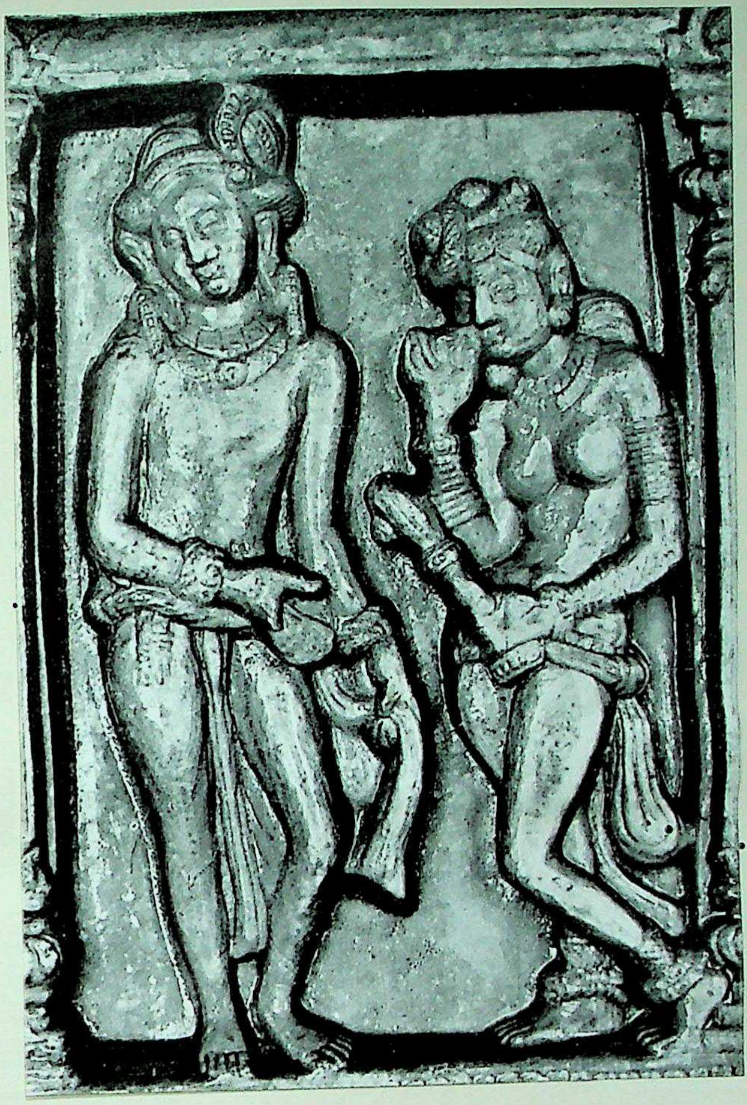
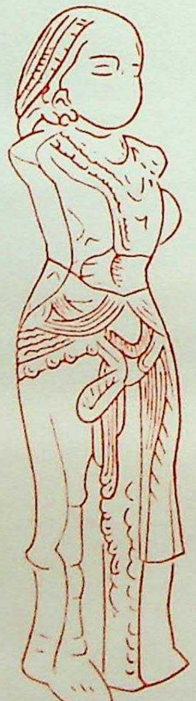


PLATE XXXVIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The saucy woman holds communion with the parrot, while her expectant lover waits ; another sensitive *mithuna*.



Besnagar : *Yakṣī*

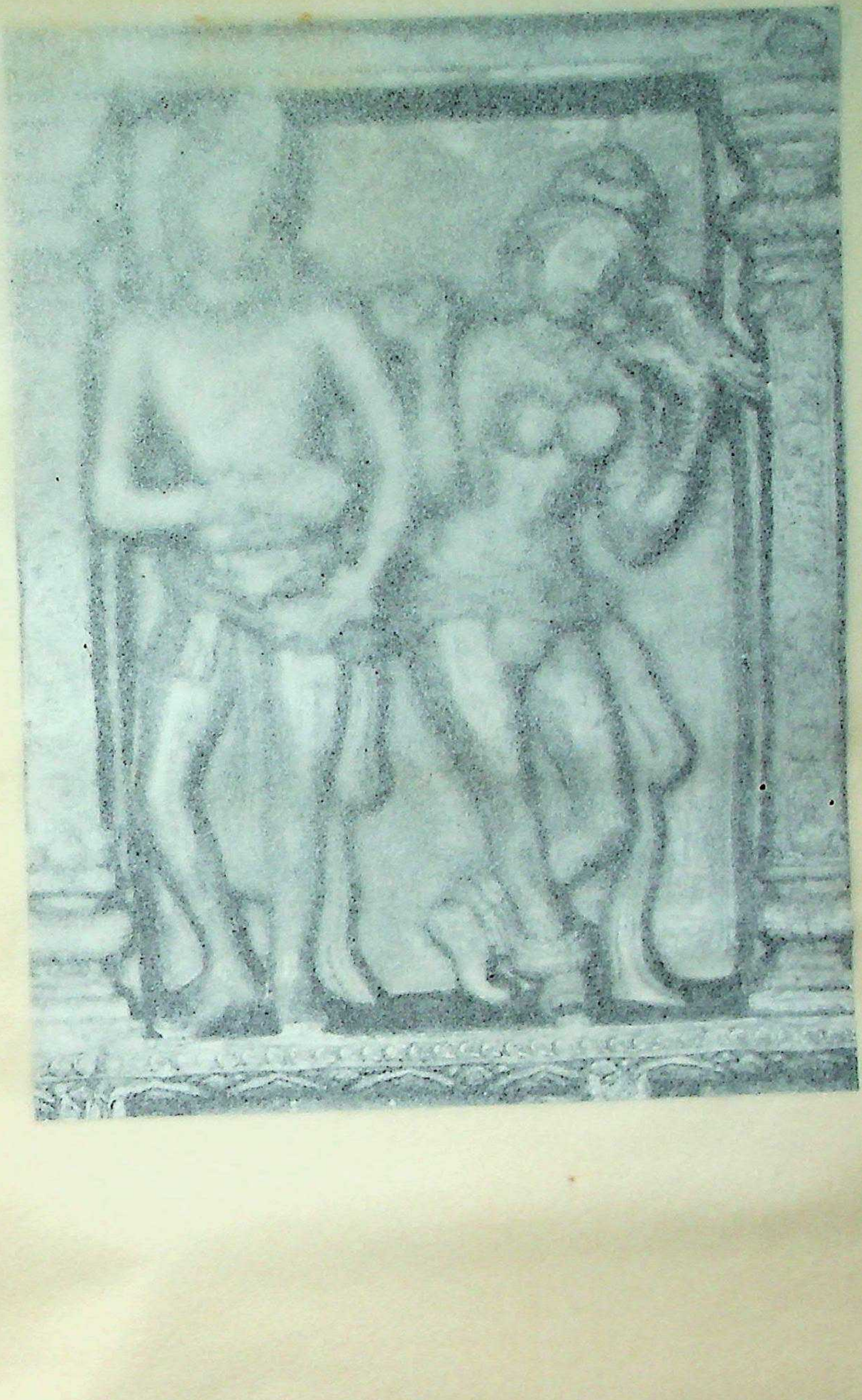
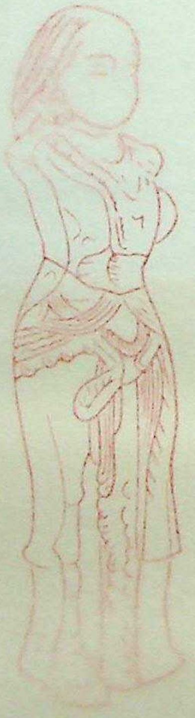


PLATE XXXVIII

[illegible] Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The sexy woman holds communion with the parrot, while the expectant lover waits ; another sensitive *mithuna*.



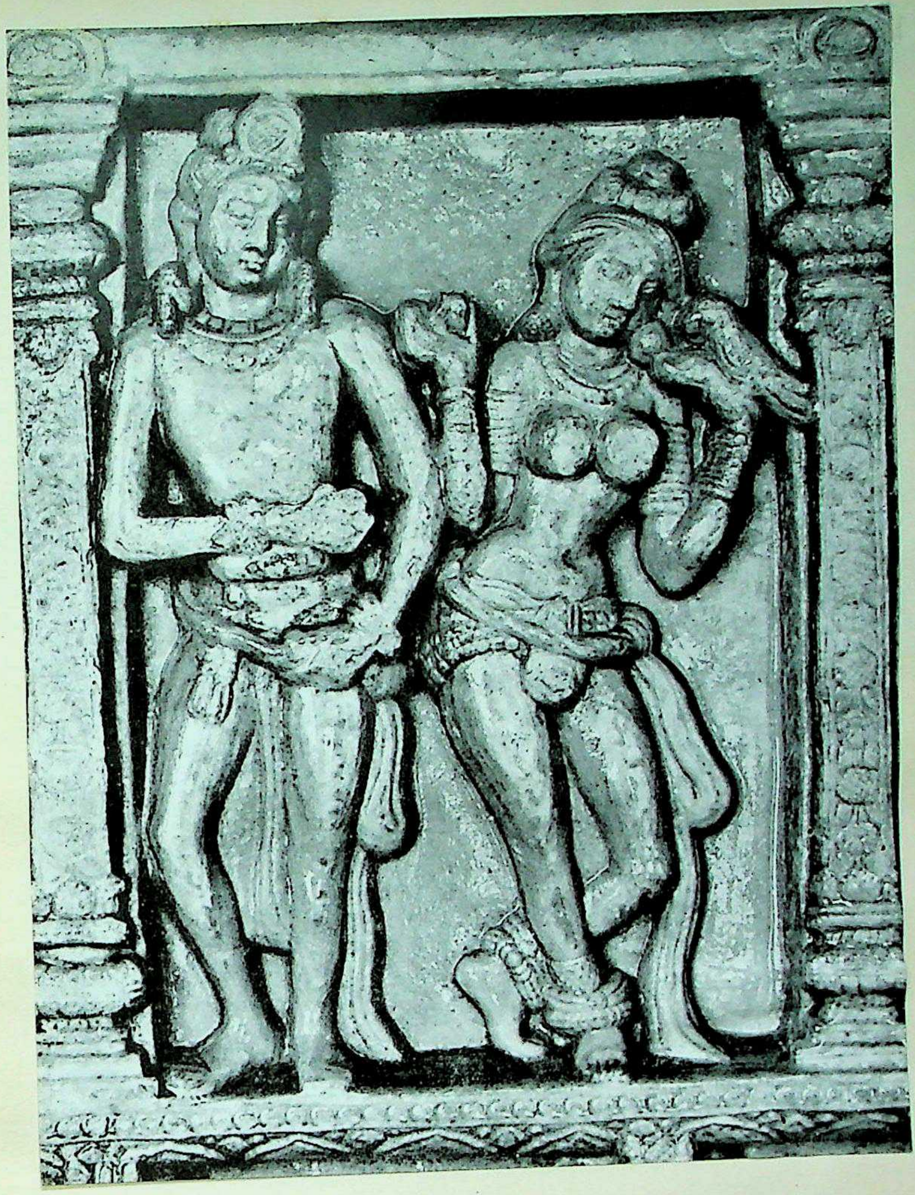


PLATE XXXIX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Admission of the Śākya Princes to the *Saṅgha*

The sculpture discovers the barber Upāli tonsuring one of the six Śākya princes (around him) who begged of the Buddha, on his first visit to Kapilavastu after his enlightenment, to be admitted to the *Saṅgha*. The princes gave Upāli their garments to keep, but (the story proceeds) the barber, lest he be suspected, decided to enter the Order himself (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 36). In its effective balancing of animated groups, this relief is sustained by the serene figure of the Buddha seated in the centre.

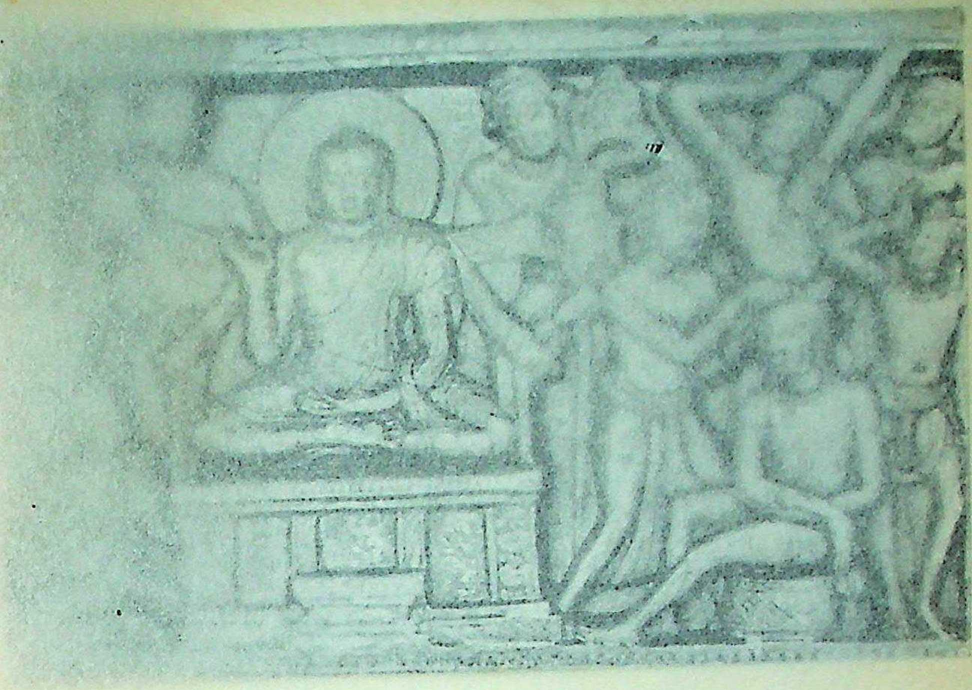


PLATE XXXIX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Admission of the Śākya Princes to the *Sangha*

The sculpture discovers the barber Upāli tonsuring one of the six Śākya princes (around him) who begged of the Buddha, on his first visit to Kapilavastu after his enlightenment, to be admitted to the *Sangha*. The princes gave Upāli their garments to keep, but (the story proceeds) the barber, lest he be suspected, decided to enter the Order himself (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 36). In its effective balancing of animated groups, this relief is sustained by the serene figure of the Buddha seated in the centre.

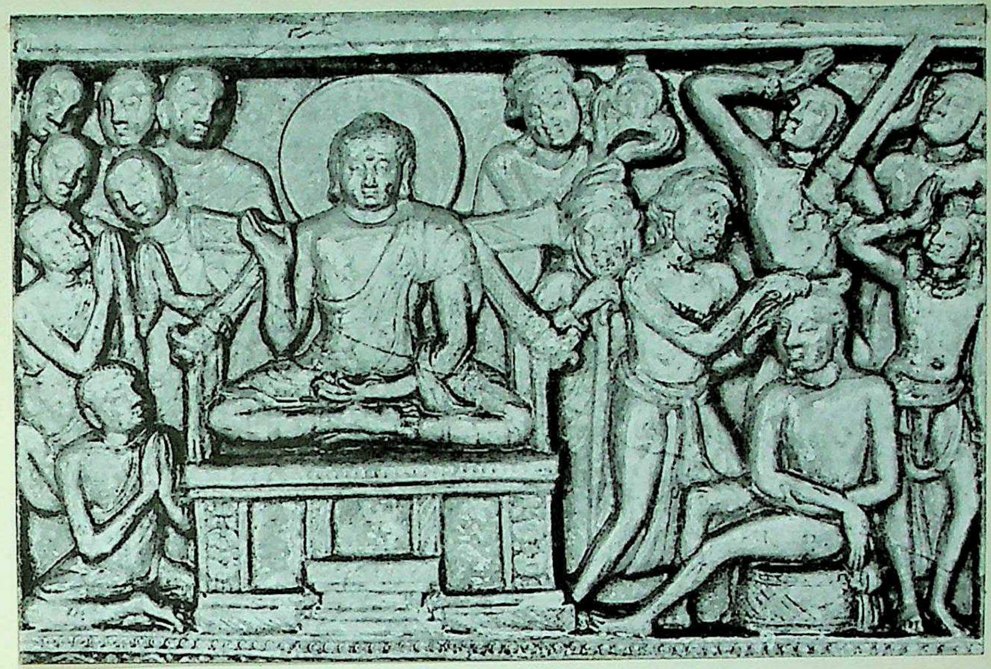
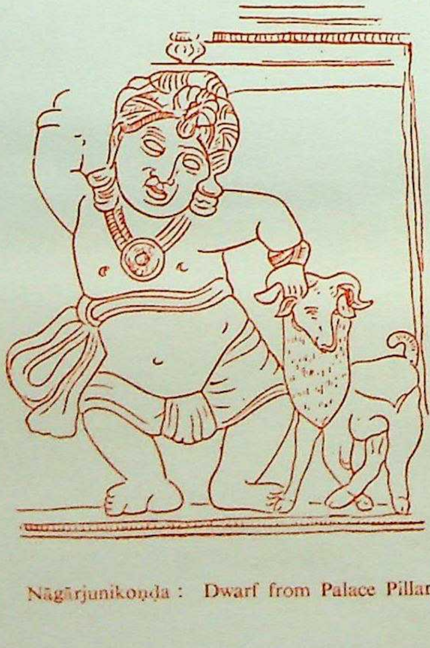


PLATE XL

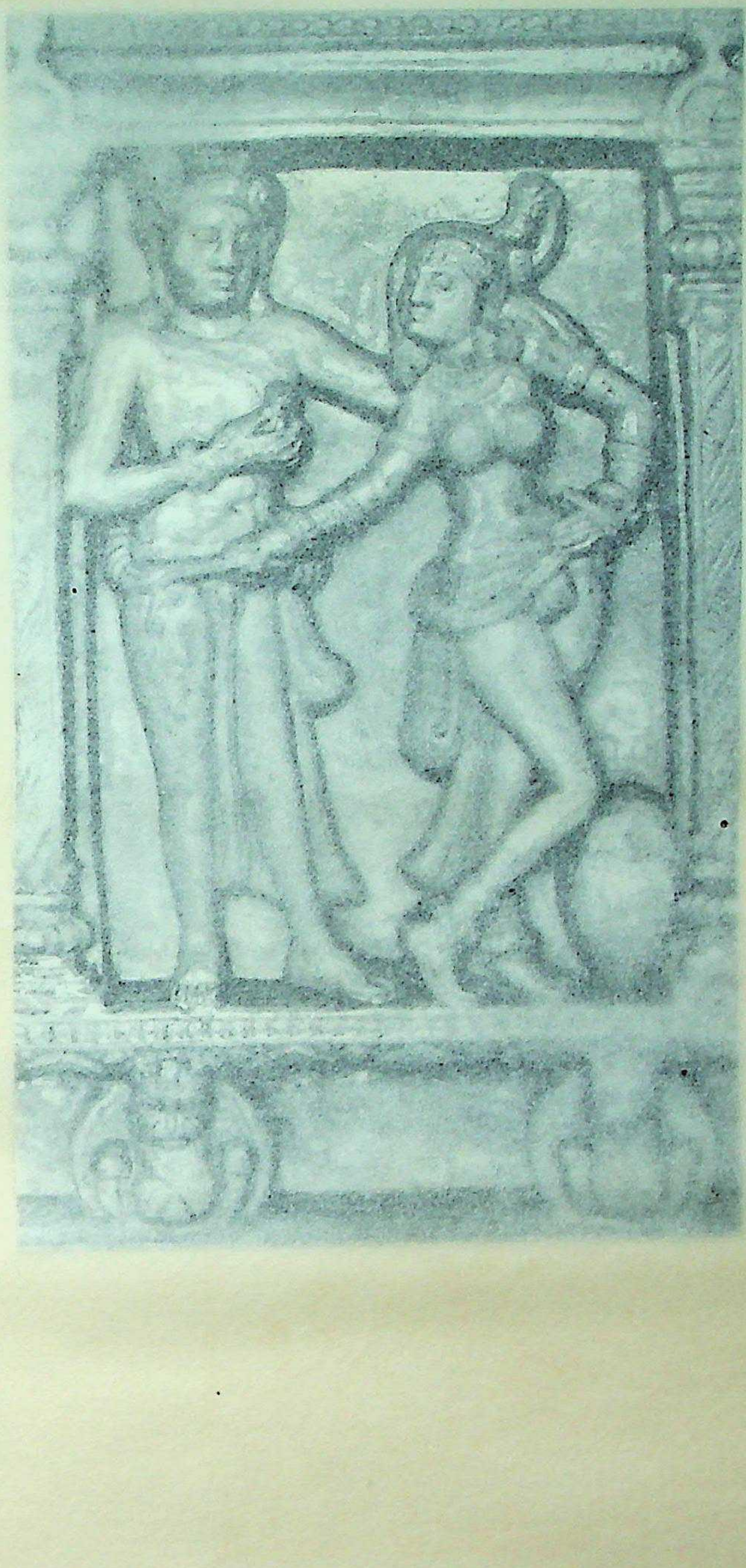
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The mere male held prisoner by his pert sweetheart: a provocative *mithuna*.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Dwarf from Palace Pillar



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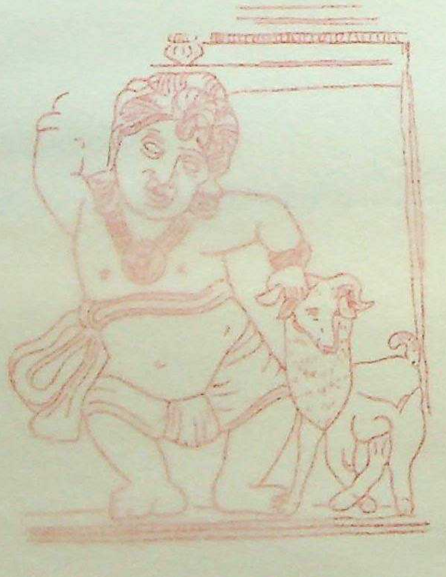


Nagarjunakonda : Dwarf from Palace Pillar

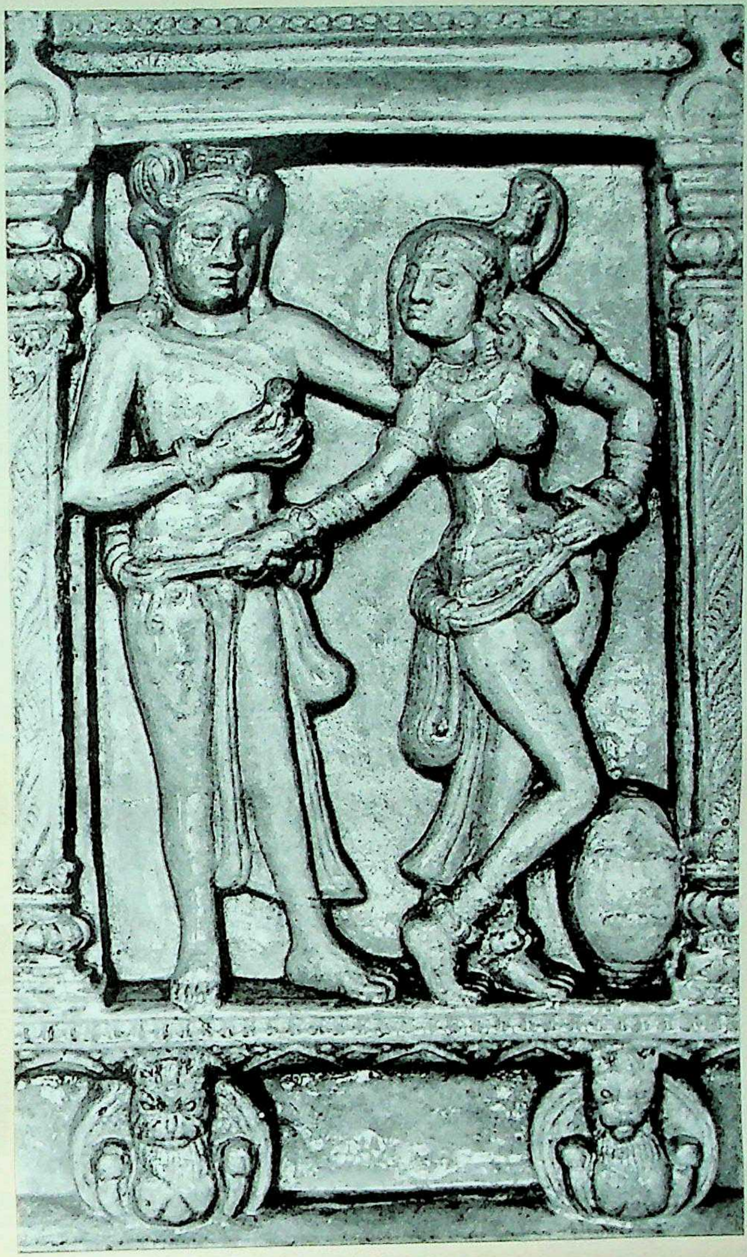


PLATE XLI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mahāparinirvāṇa

The Death or *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha is represented symbolically by his *stūpa*, attended by worshippers, human as well as divine, with votive offerings. The cornice-stone has a natural softness, a marble quality, which comes out in the decorative sculpture.

PLATE XLI

Andhra Cornice-stone

Mahāparinirvāṇa

The Death or *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha is represented symbolically by his *stūpa*, attended by worshippers, human as well as divine, with votive offerings. The cornice-stone has a natural softness, a marble quality, which comes out in the decorative sculpture.

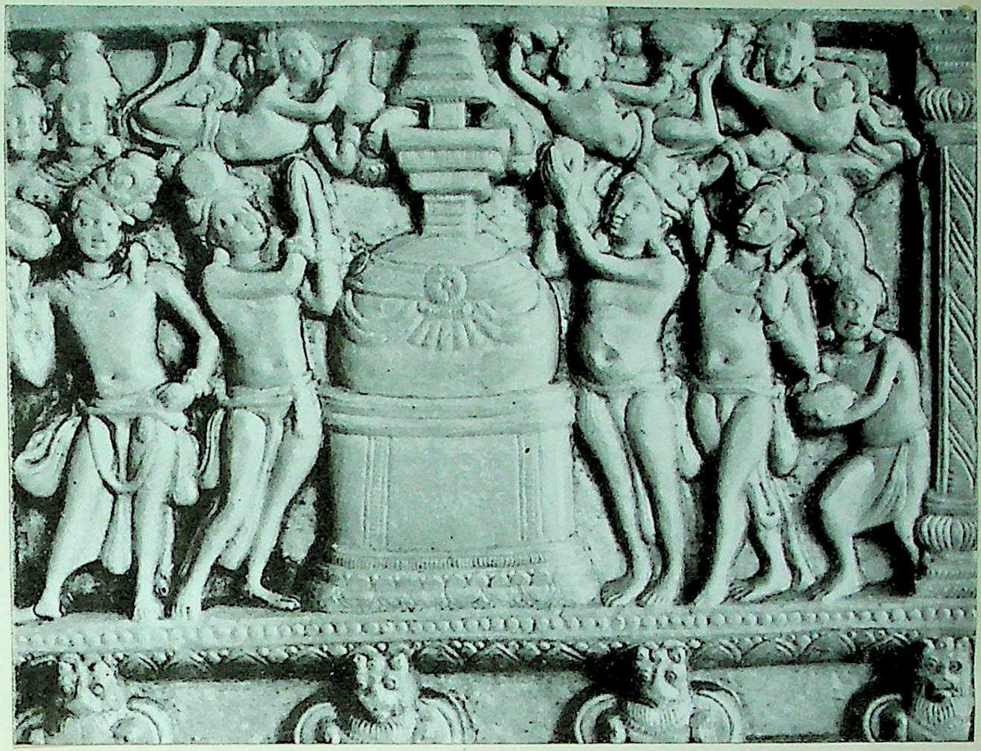


PLATE XLII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa

On his courser Kaṇṭhaka, Siddhārtha rides forth at night from Kapilavastu in the 'Great Renunciation', escorted by the gods who silence the neighing of the steed and hold up its hoofs, lest the city be awakened. Of all the reliefs of the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, this is the noblest ; it excels in the conveyance of motion and the plastic figures spring with the freshness of life.

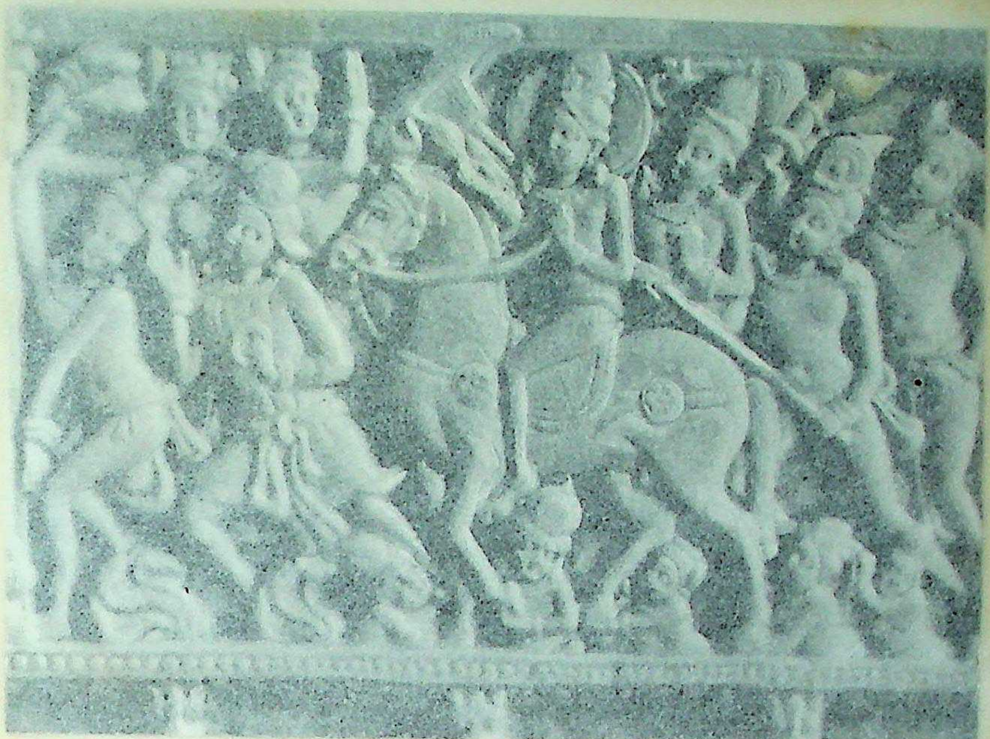


PLATE XLII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa

On his courser Kanthaka, Siddhārtha rides forth at night from Kapilavastu on the 'Great Renunciation', escorted by the gods who muffle the neighing of the steed and hold up its hoofs, lest the city be awakened. Of all the reliefs of the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, this is the noblest; it excels in the conveyance of motion and the plastic figures spring with the freshness of life.

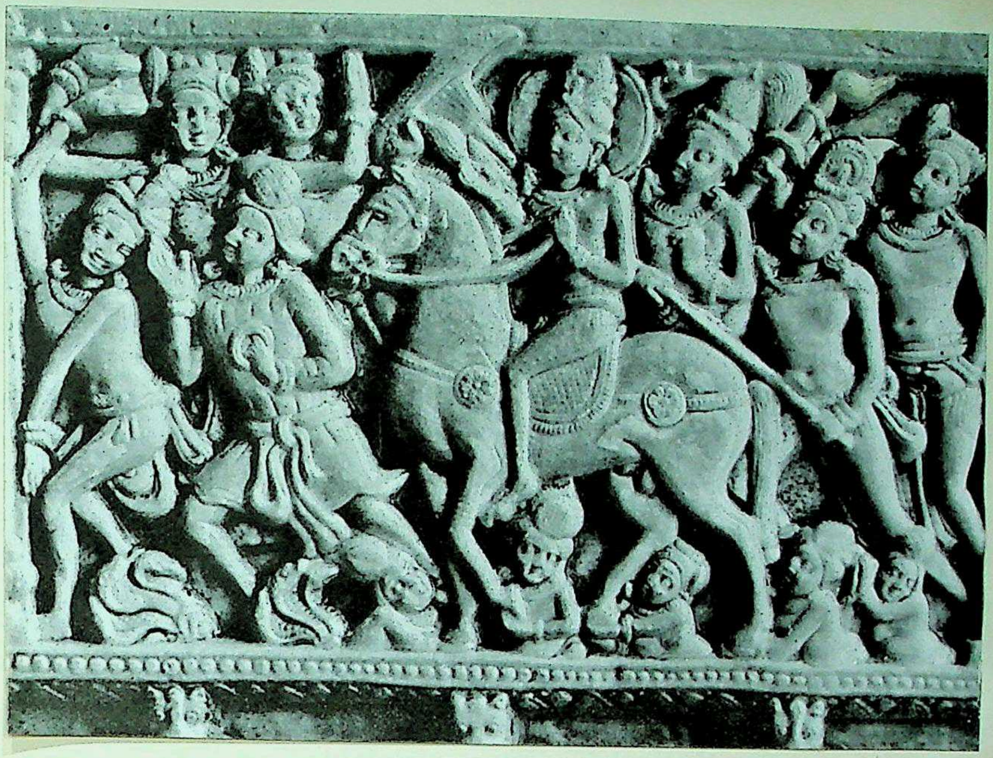


PLATE XLIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Caṁpeya *Jātaka*

The bas-relief depicts the dramatic point in the Caṁpeya *Jātaka* when a certain Brāhmaṇa, by a charm vouchsafed to him, catches a *nāga* king of glory of the name of Caṁpeya, which the Buddha was in a previous existence. The story proceeds to the redemption of the *nāga*, contrived by his wife Sumanā, at the Court of the king of Banāras and the discomfiture of the Brāhmaṇa (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 43, 44).

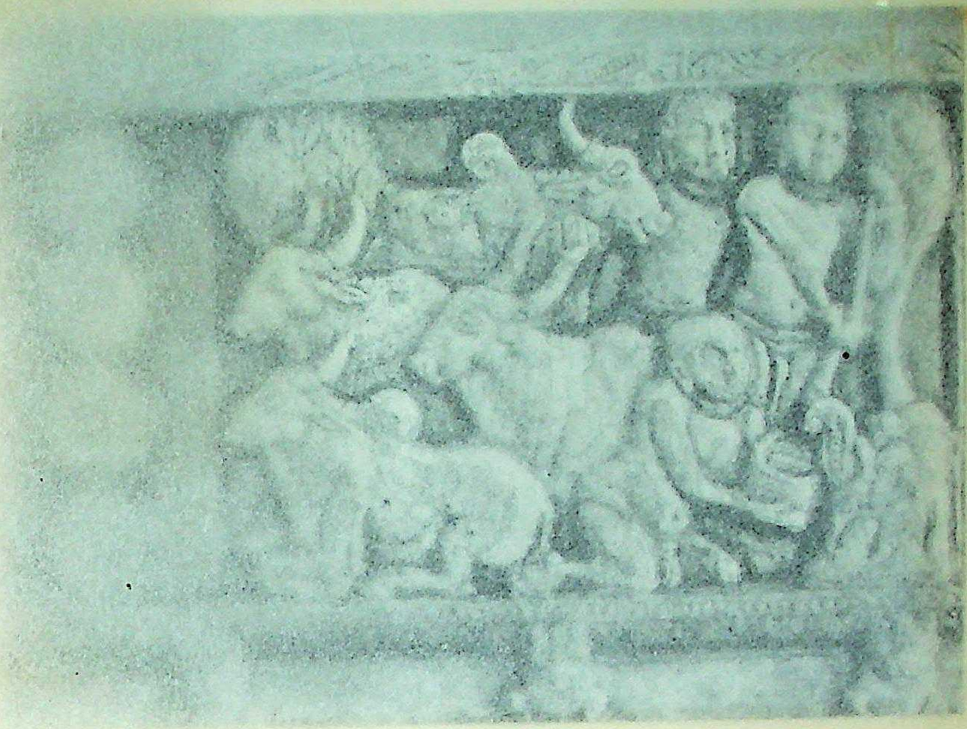


PLATE XLIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Campeya *Jātaka*

The sculpture depicts the dramatic point in the Campeya Jātaka when a certain Brāhmaṇa, by a charm vouchsafed to him, exhibits a nāga king of glory of the name of Campeya, which the Buddha was in a previous existence. The story proceeds to the deliverance of the nāga, contrived by his wife Samanā, at the Court of the King of Banāras and the discomfiture of the Brāhmaṇa (A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 43, 44).

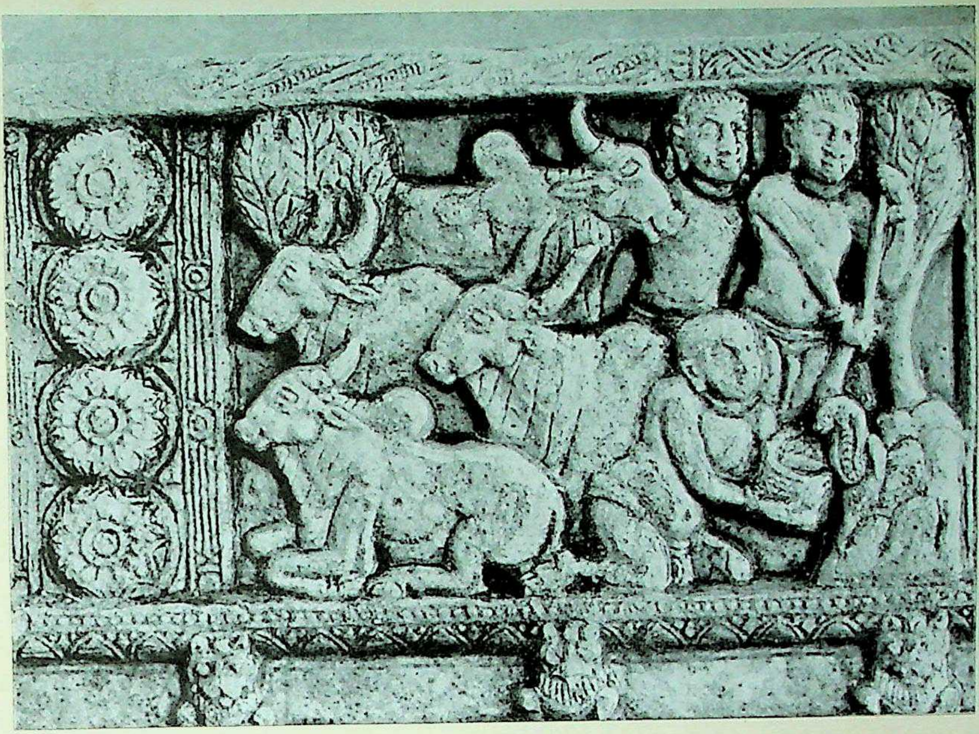
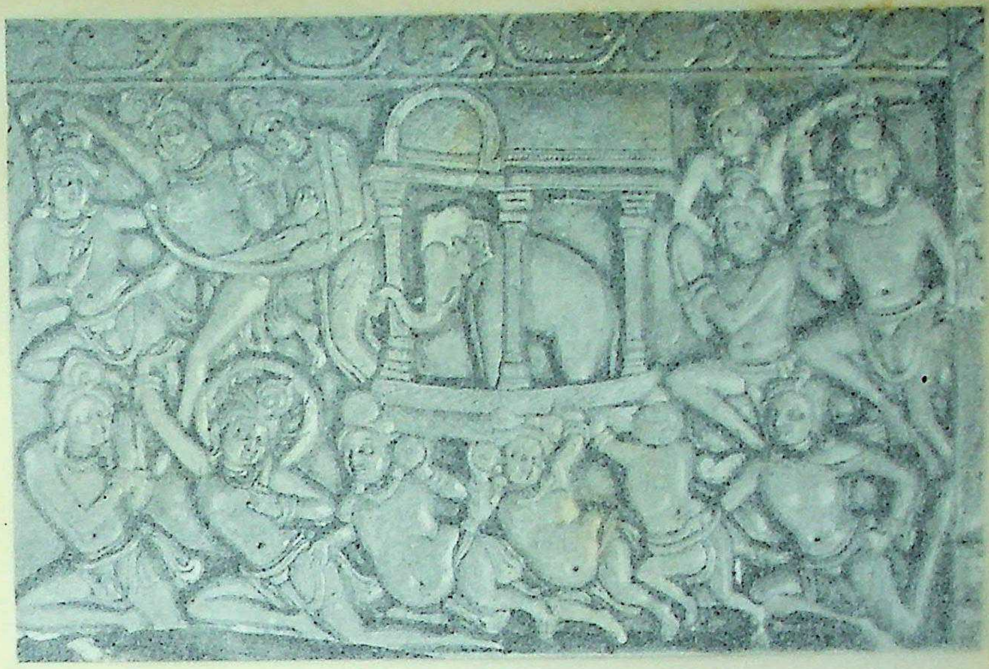


PLATE XLIV

Aṇḍa Slab

Queen Māyā's Dream

The future Buddha was conceived by his mother in a dream, in which she saw him descending from the Tuṣita heaven in the form of a white elephant (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 25).



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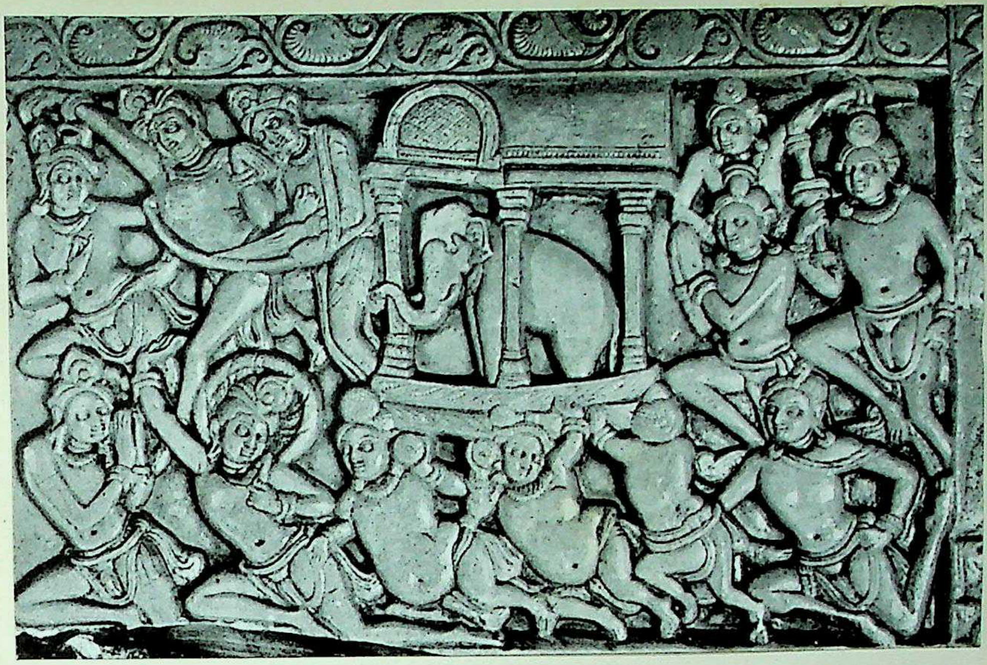
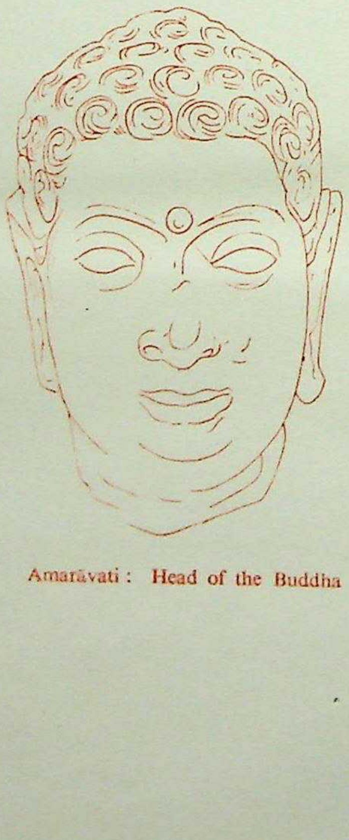


PLATE XLV

Aṇḍa Slab

Siddhārtha Giving His Jewels Away

The sculpture renders, with elaboration and grace, the subject treated in Plate IX ; the figure of Siddhārtha is a study in stately manliness.



Amarāvati : Head of the Buddha

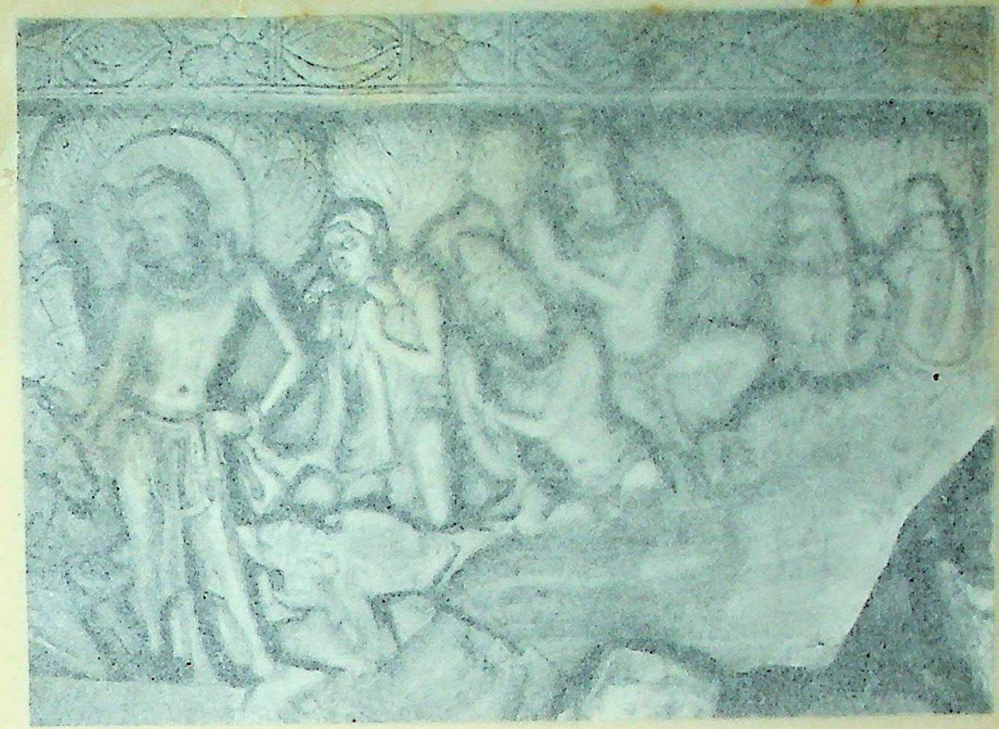


PLATE XLV

Anda Slab

Siddhārtha Giving His Jewels Away

The sculpture renders, with elaboration and grace, the subject treated in Plate IX ; the figure of Siddhārtha is a study in stately manliness.

[illegible] : Head of the Buddha

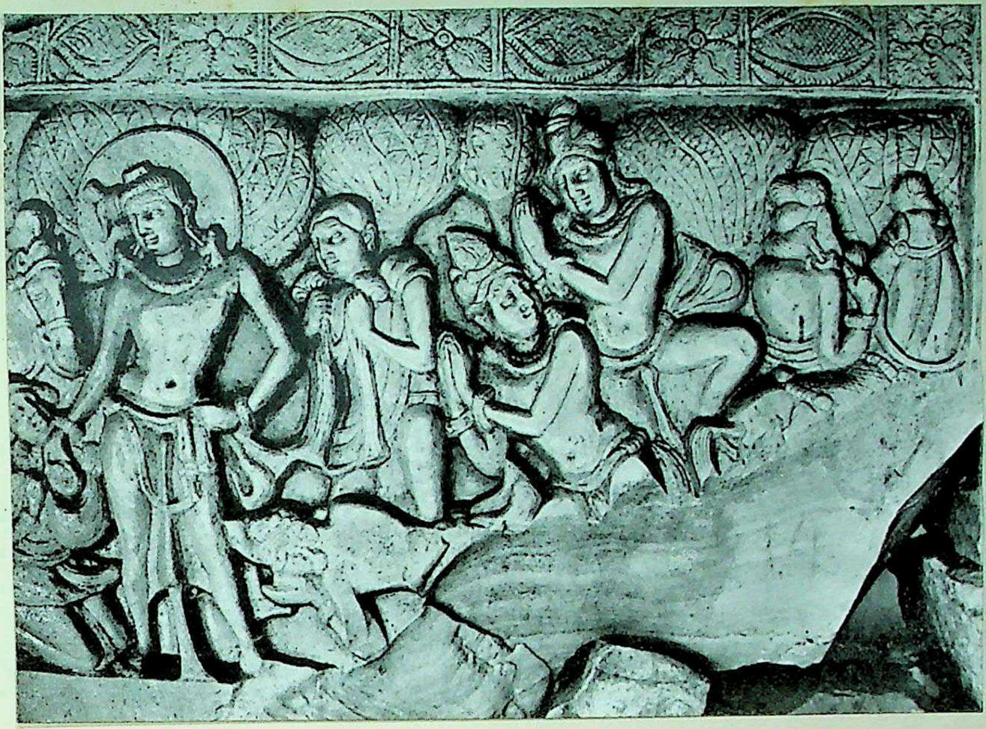


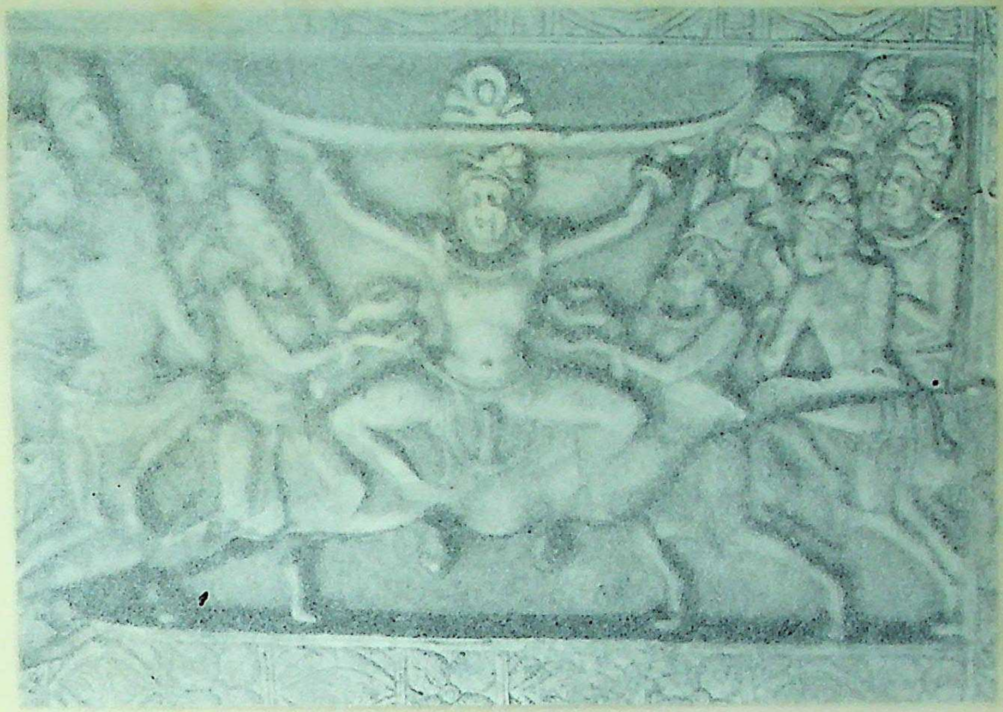
PLATE XLVI

Aṇḍa Slab

Transportation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven

A concise and finely balanced portrayal of the event described with crowded richness in Plate XIII.

Gandhāra : Head of the Buddha



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Gandhara — Head of the Buddha

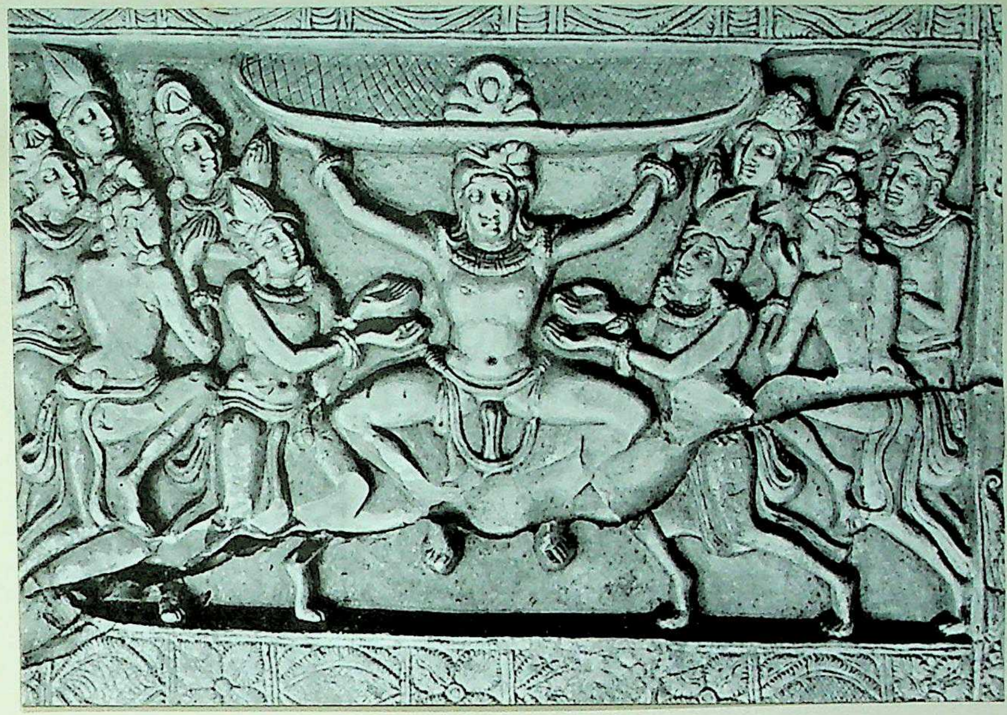


PLATE XLVII

Aṇḍa Slab

Caṇḍaka Relates Siddhārtha's *Abhiniṣkramaṇa*

Bidden by Siddhārtha to go back with his salutations to his parents, Caṇḍaka returns with the horse to king Suddhodhana. The messenger of grief kneels by the inconsolable king ; the broken-hearted steed lays its head at the feet of its stunned mistress, Yaśodhara, supported by the attendant maid ; the situation is too deep for tears.

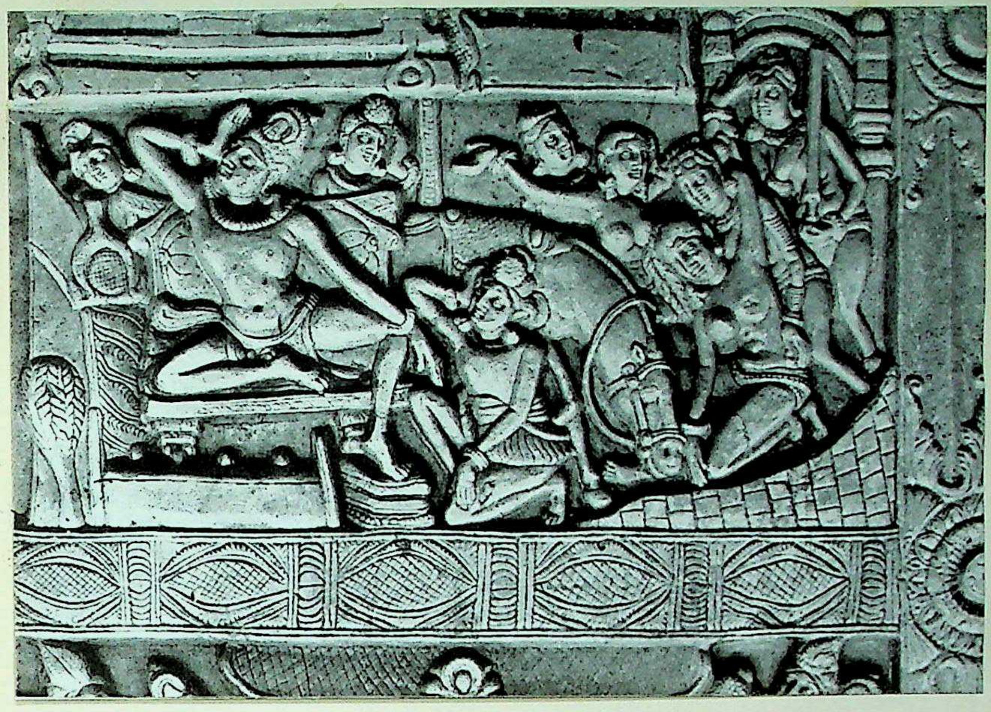
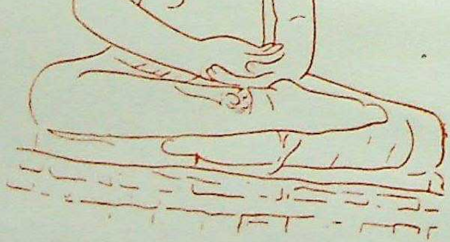


PLATE XLVIII

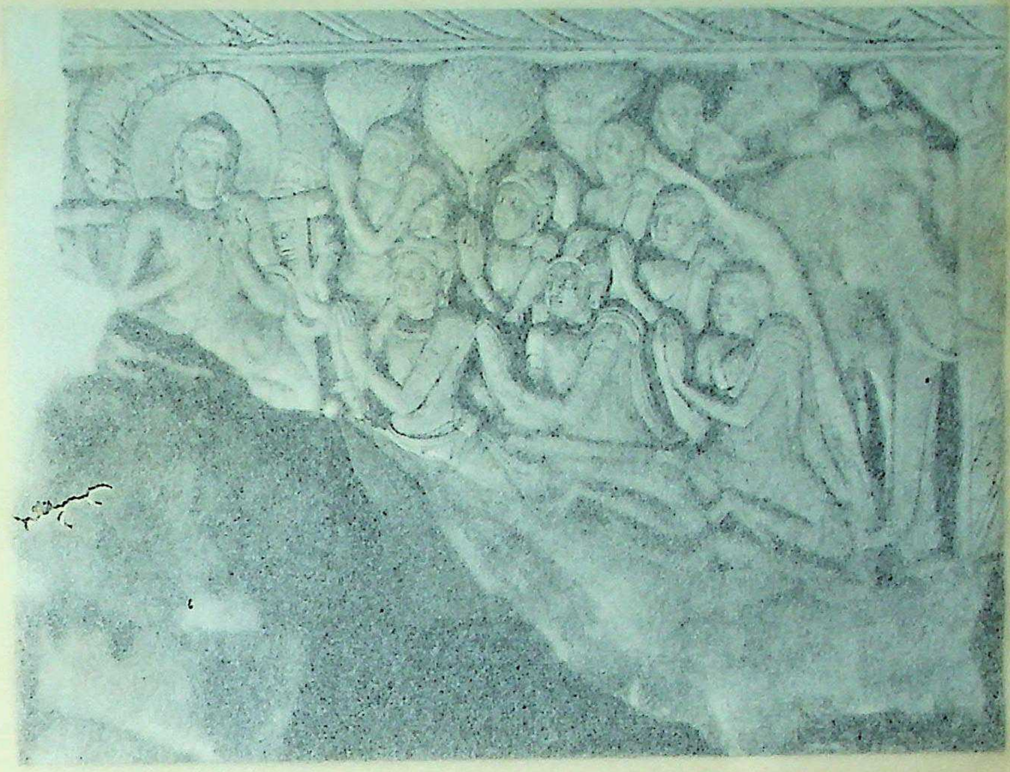
Aṇḍa Slab

King Ajātaśatru Visits the Buddha

Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, stricken with remorse on slaying his father Biṁbisāra, seeks the Buddha for spiritual solace, becoming a convert to the faith. The scene is the garden of Jīvaka, physician to the parricide; the sword is laid low as the monarch joins his retinue in doing obeisance to the Master.



Anurādhapura : The Buddha



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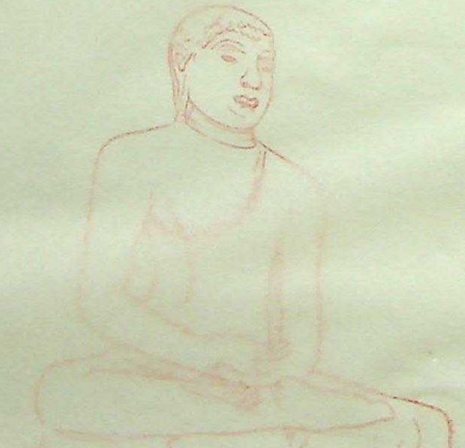

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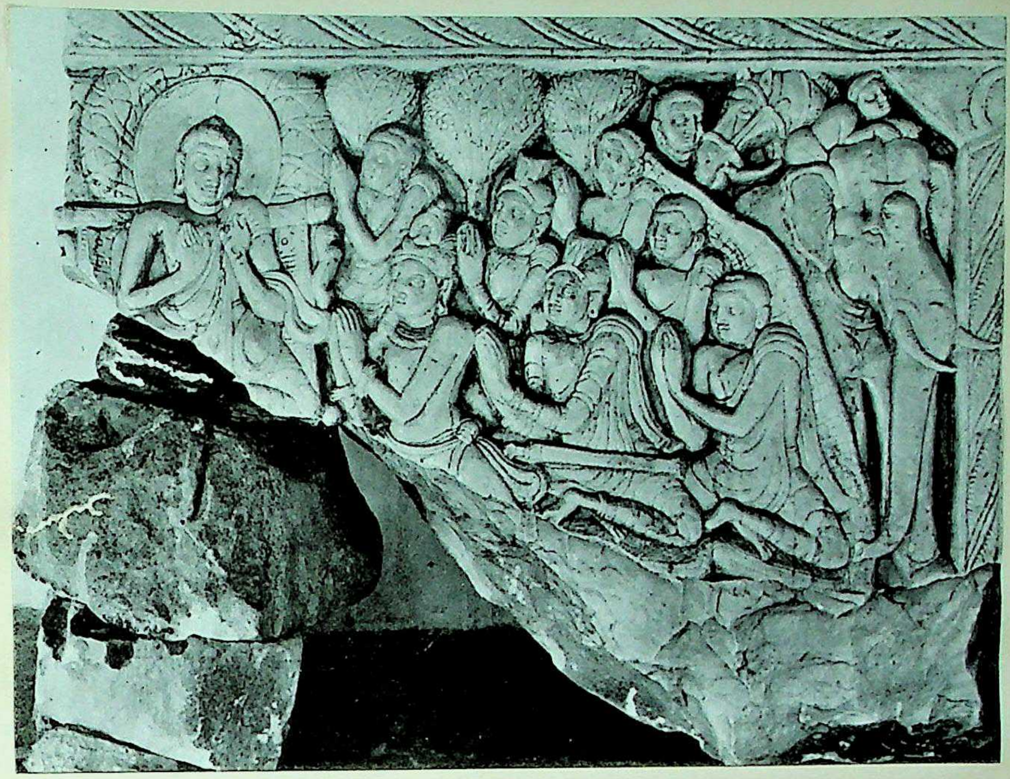

PLATE XLIX

Aṇḍa Slab

The Buddha Preaching to the Four Monks

At the Deer Park at Isipatna (Ṛṣipatna), where he delivered the first sermon, the Buddha, seated on a *siṁhāsana*, preaches to the four friends of the householder, Yaśas ('the rich '), after their admission to the *Saṅgha*. (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 54, 55). The groups of joined hands, on either side of the sculpture, converge on the focal figure of the Buddha in a telling emphasis.

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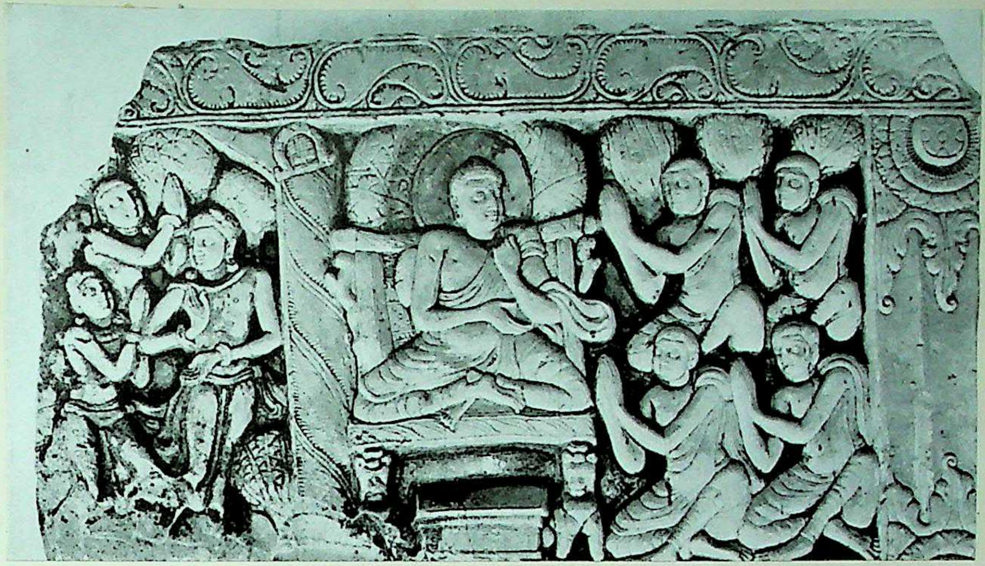

PLATE L

Aṇḍa Slab

Māndhātu *Jātaka*

This relief discovers Māndhāta, in a repetition of Plate XIX, worsting the aquatic *nāga*, defending the heaven of the thirty-three gods, and not, as supposed (by B. V. Krishna Rao : *Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa*, p. 59), Siri-Vīrapurisadata denouncing Brāhmanism (which the serpent is thought to symbolise) in the bigotry of the new convert to Buddhism.

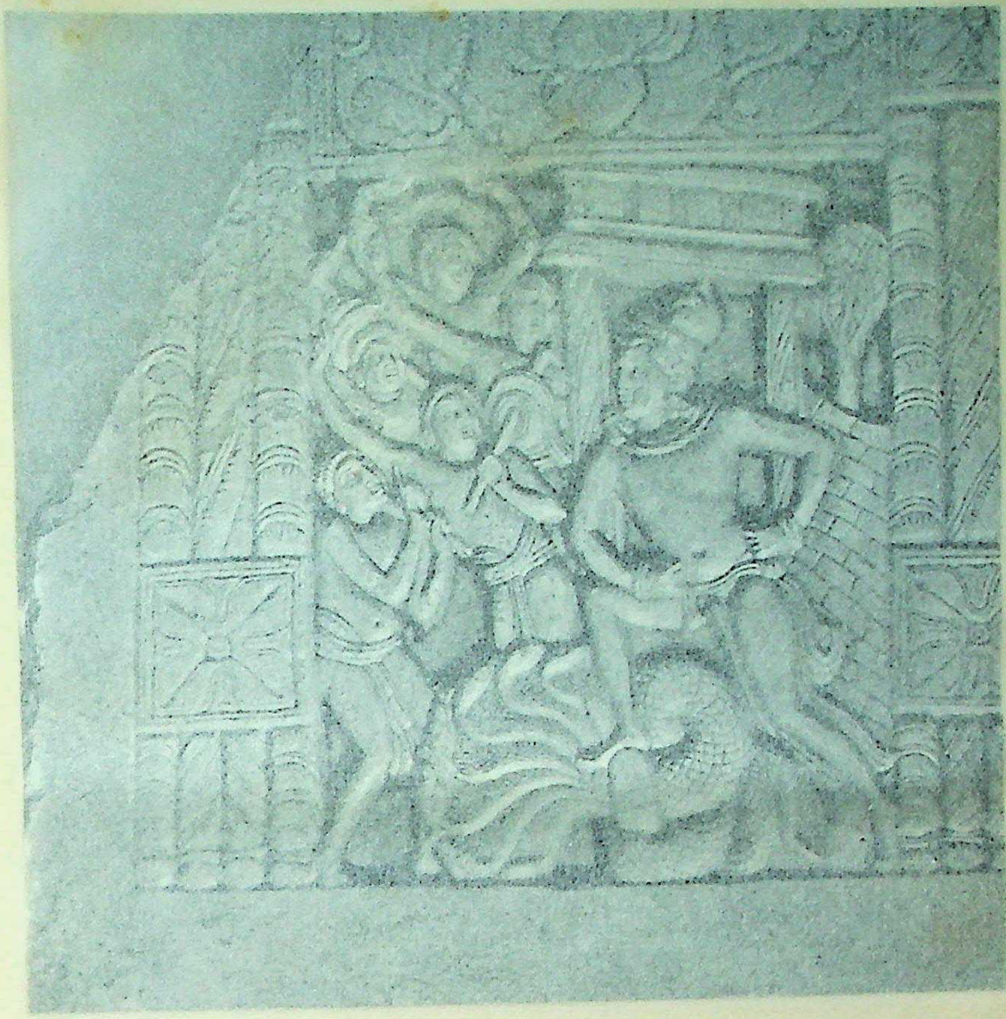

PLATE L

Anda Slab

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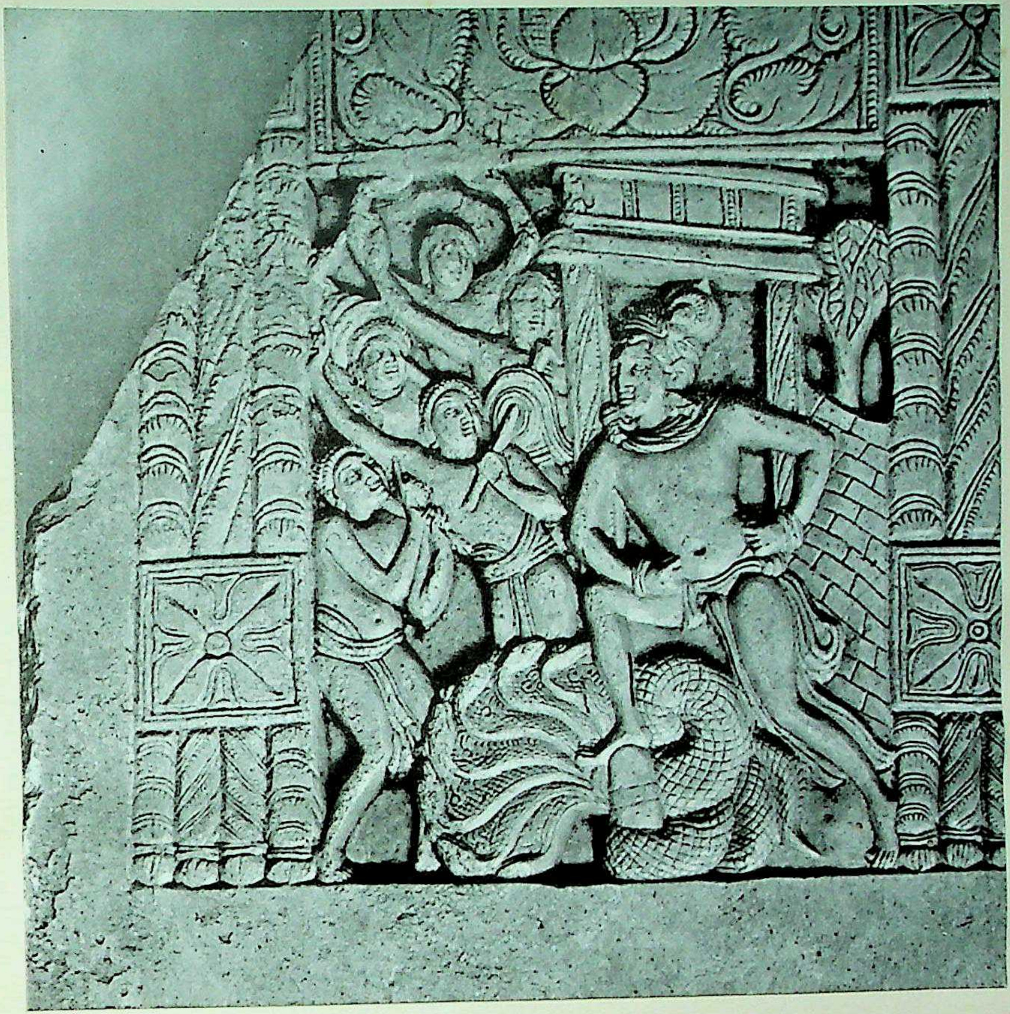

PLATE LI

Aṇḍa Slab

Māndhātu *Jātaka*

Cakravartin Māndhāta shares the throne with Indra, lord of the *trayastriṁśa* heaven. Of the attendant nymphs, the two, flanking the relief, are extremely voluptuous—the torso, for all its mutilation, is a triumph of graceful modelling.

PLATE LI

Āyaka Slab

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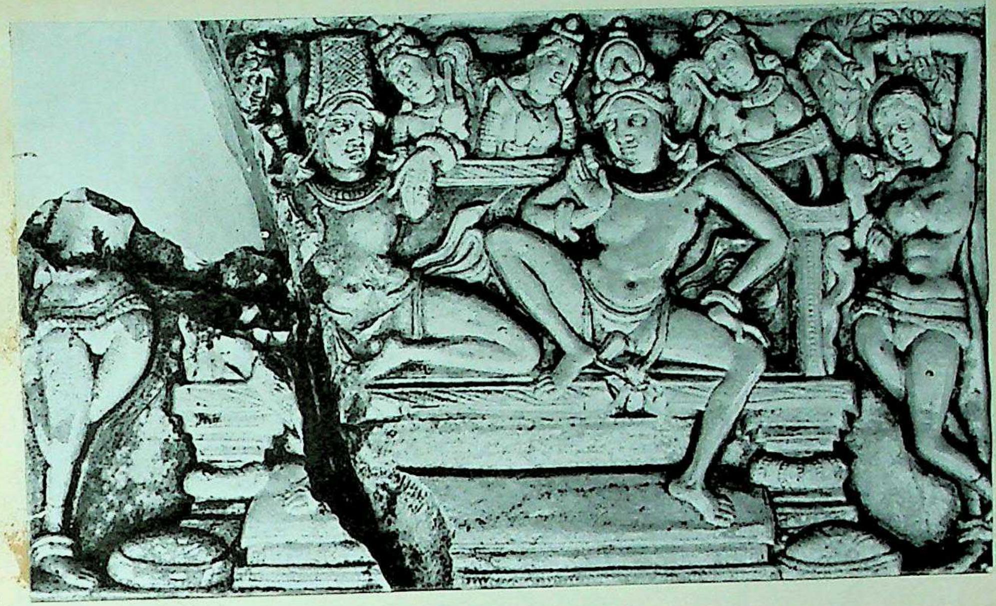

PLATE LII

Aṇḍa Slab

King Kappina's Conversion

At the city of Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī), Kappina, king of Kukkuṭavatī, is converted to the faith by the Buddha who is disclosed seated under a tree, moulded to his halo, and attended by Vajrapāṇi and two other deities on his left ; to the right are two adoring monks and the king, on an elephant, in the ritual of tonsure precedent to his admission to the *Saṅgha,* with his following. An essay in significant suggestion, the relief is completed by the peeping heads of the waiting horses and a touch of nature (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 60, 61).

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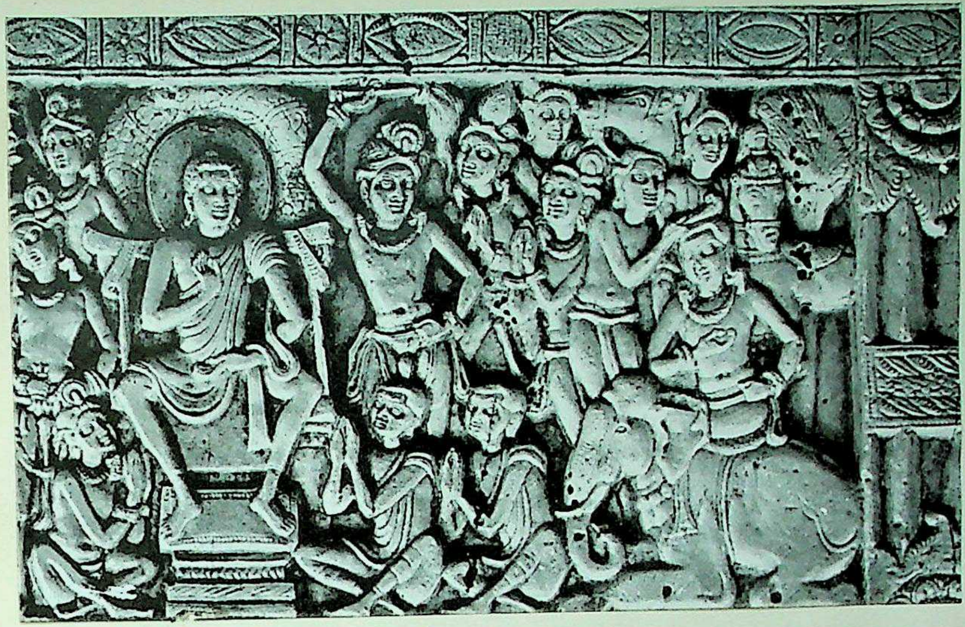
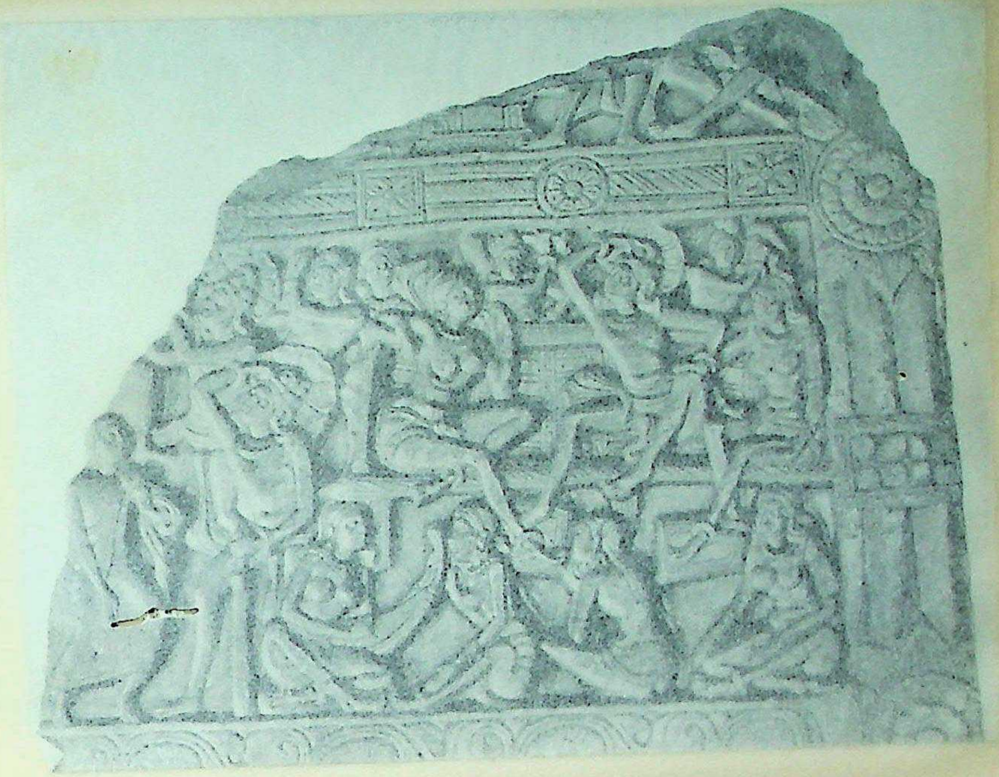


PLATE LIII

Aṇḍa Slab

The Story of Sumana

The novitiate Sumana, charged with fetching water to cure his Master Anuruddha from the Anotta lake in the Himalayas, is challenged by its resident *nāga* king, Paṇṇaka. His henchman, club in hand, strides against the defying Sumana, while the king chafes, surprised with his dismayed entourage in the music and the mirth of the Court (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 39-41).



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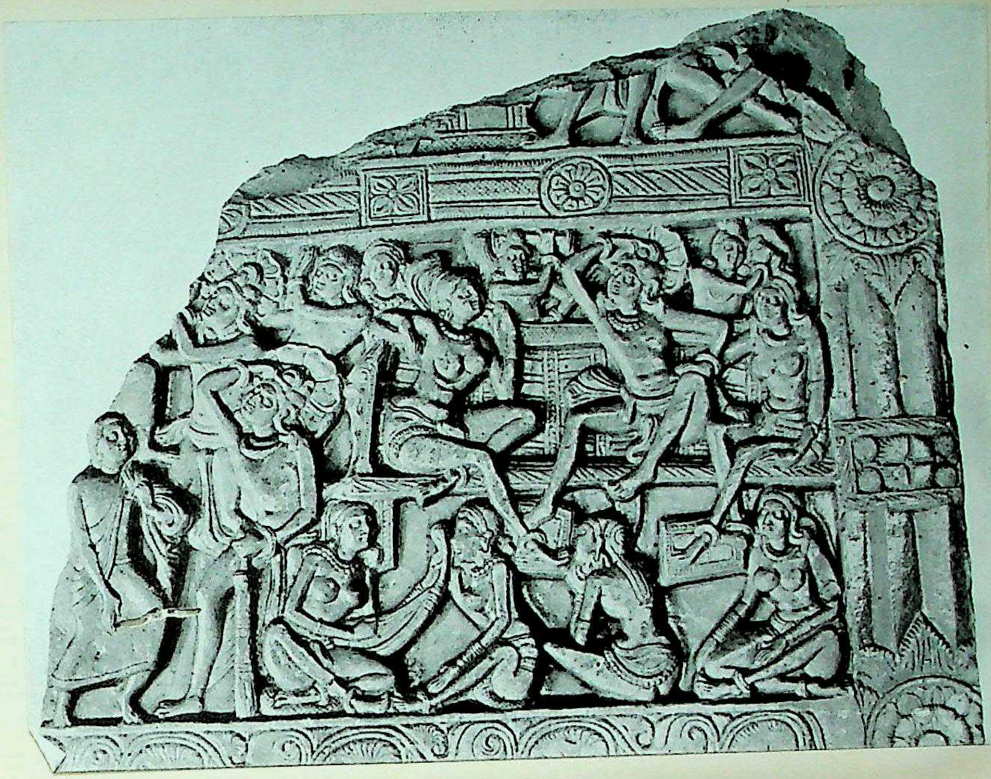
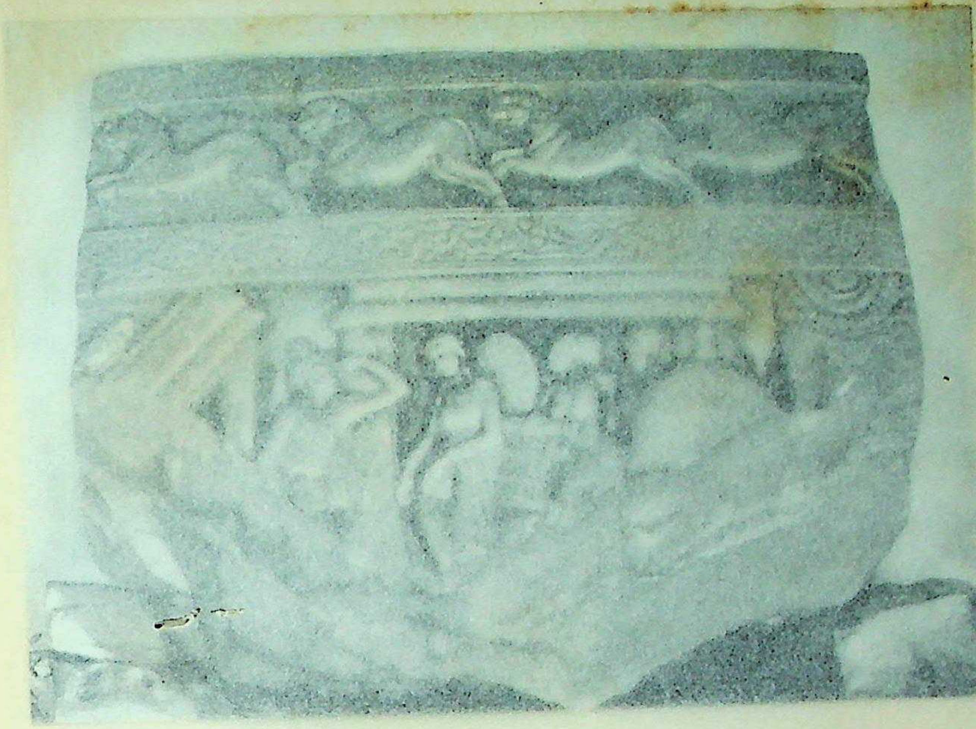


PLATE LIV

Aṇḍa Slab

Ghaṭa *Jātaka*

This mutilated sculpture probably relates to an episode of the Ghaṭa *Jātaka*—the clandestine tryst of Upasāgara, prince of Mathurā, and the princess Devagabbha (Devagarbhā) of Kaṁsa, held prisoner by her brothers, lest, by an evil prediction, her issue should destroy their country. The rest of the story, the fulfilment of the prophecy, is lost in the sculpture ; what remains is an exquisite study in portraiture, of the daring prince and his surrendering sweetheart, abetted in their perilous *liaison* by her obliging maids of honour (A. H. Longhurst : *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 53, 54).



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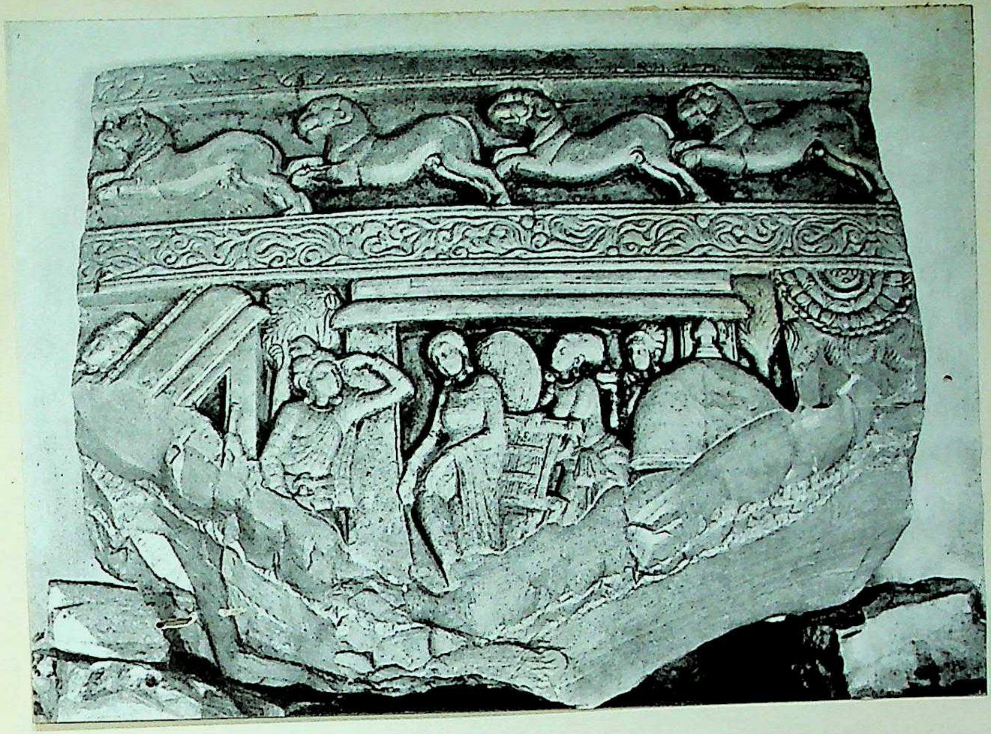
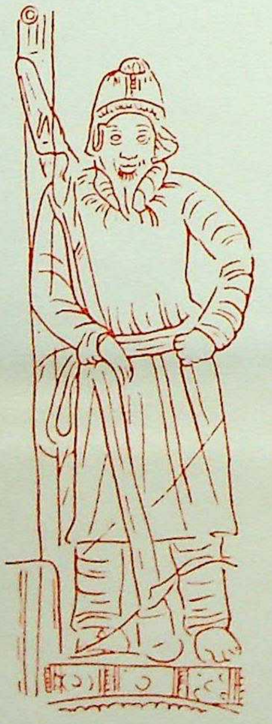


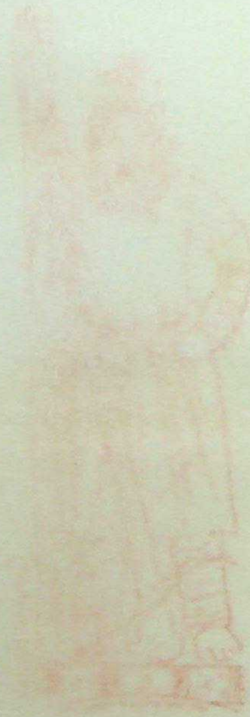
PLATE LV

Pillar from Palace

The ornate sculpturing of the palace pillars is in marked contrast to the architectural severity of the columns of the *maṇḍapas*, which are bare of ornament except for an occasional lotus medallion in the cubical ends of their shafts.



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa : Scythian Warrior from Palace Pillar



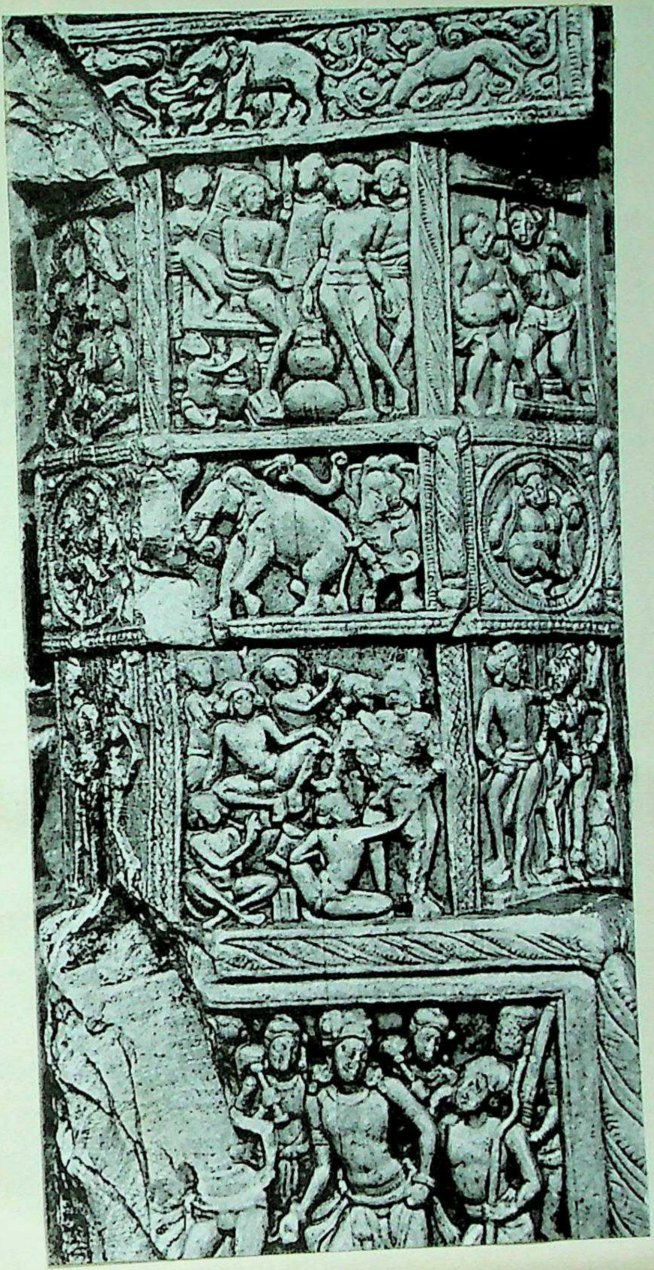
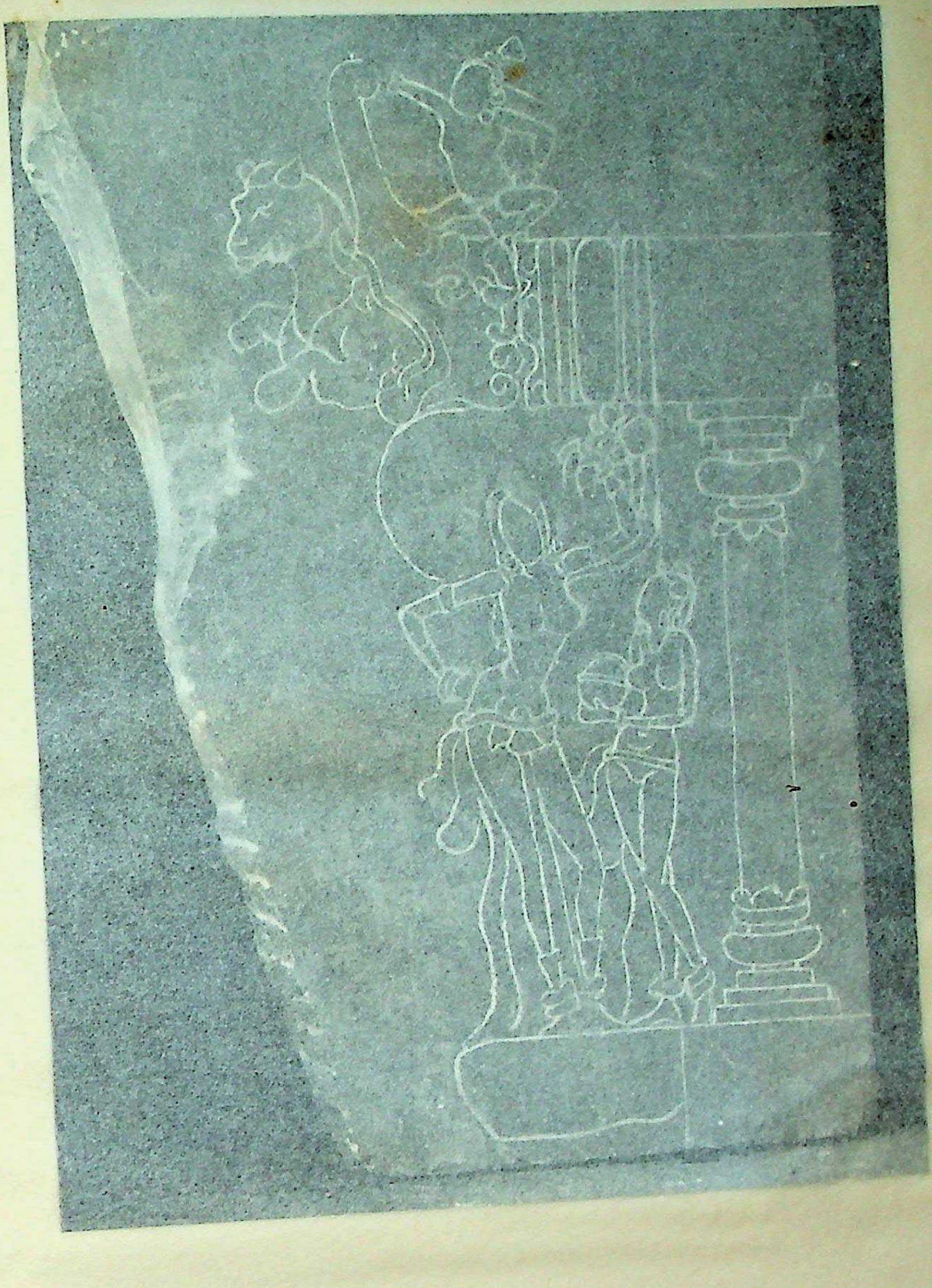


PLATE LVI

Bracket

Sketch of *Śālabhañjikā*

The sketch is of a charming *śālabhañjikā*, right arm on hip, holding the branch of an inchoate tree ; beside her is a maid with a box of toiletry ; atop, the lintel over the pillar is finished with a lioness issuing from the jaws of a *makara* with an upturned snout, held by an impish dwarf.



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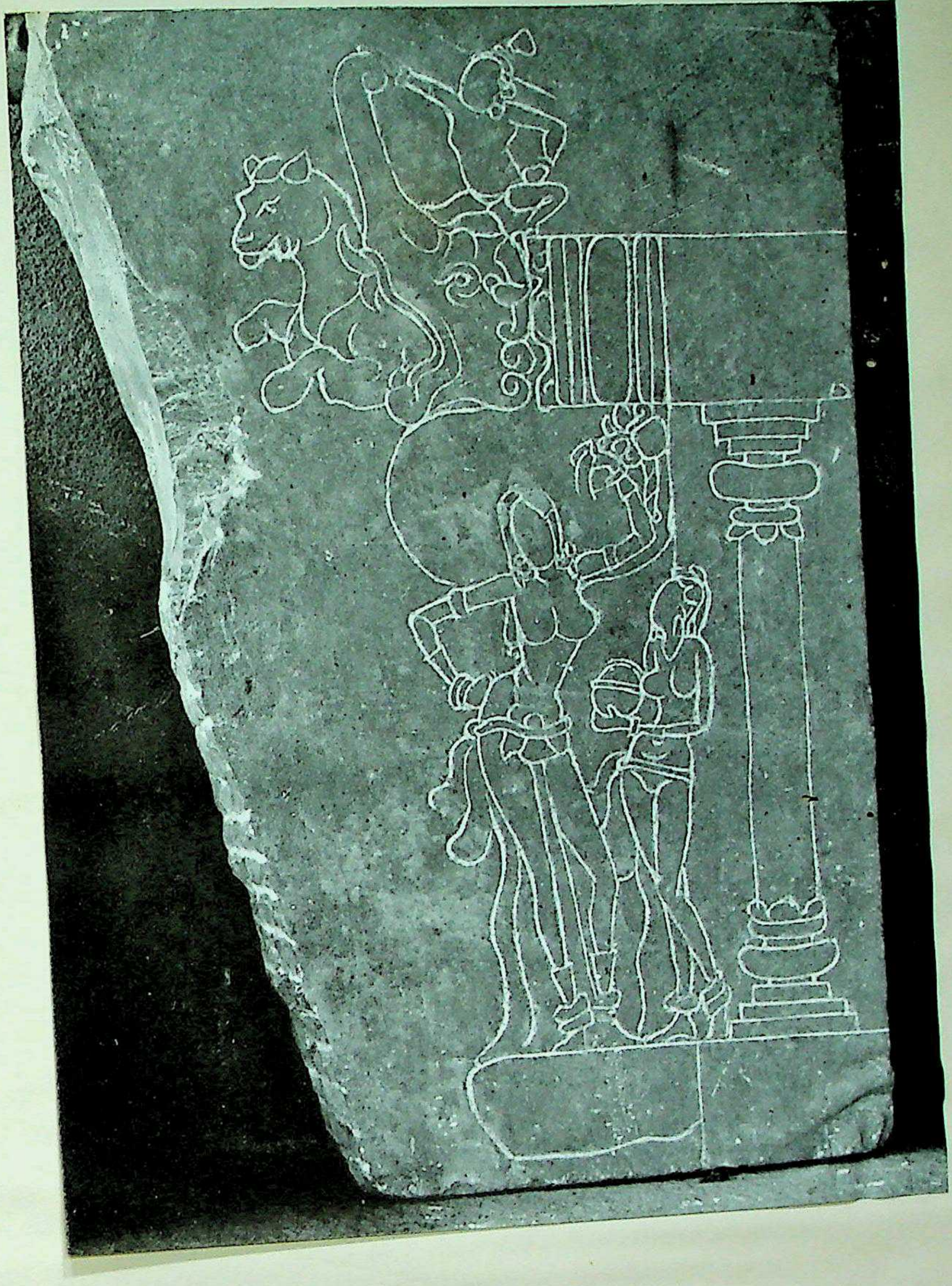
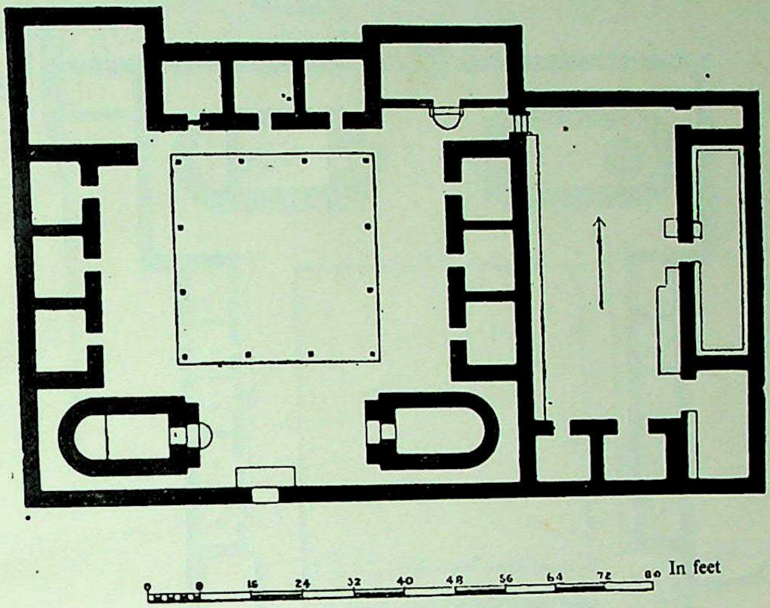
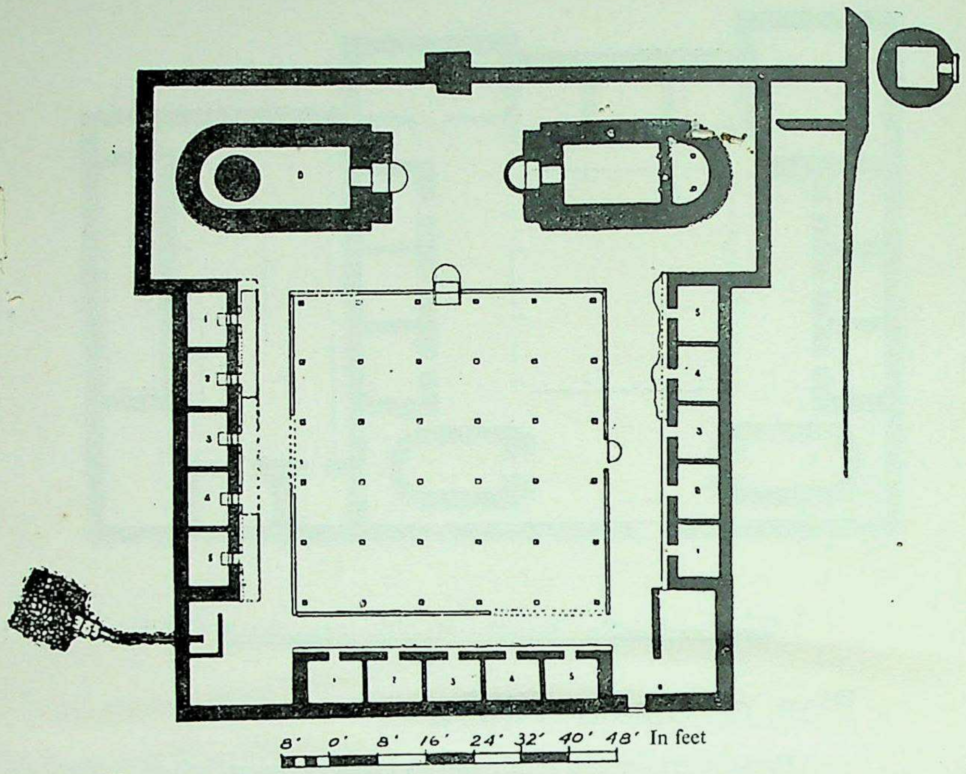
The sketch is of a charming *śālabhañjikā*, right arm on hip, holding the branch of an inchoate tree ; beside her is a maid with a box of toiletry ; atop, the lintel over the pillar is finished with a lioness issuing from the jaws of a *makara* with an upturned snout, held by an impish dwarf.




0
8
16
24
32
40
48
56
64
72
80
In feet

Plan of Sīhaḷa *Vihāra*

The two barrel-vaulted apsidal shrines preface a central hall of stone columns, flanked on three sides by rows of monastic cells. In the adjunct to the east of the *vihāra* is the refectory, with a dining table of stone, a kitchen, two store-rooms and a closet.



Plan of University

The two apsidal *caityas*, facing each other, look out on the core of the monastic unit of a stone-pillared *maṇḍapa* with three flanks of cubicles; to the north of the *caityas* is the small room which has yielded spouted vessels and terracotta figurines, and alongside it, what was perhaps, the school of art.